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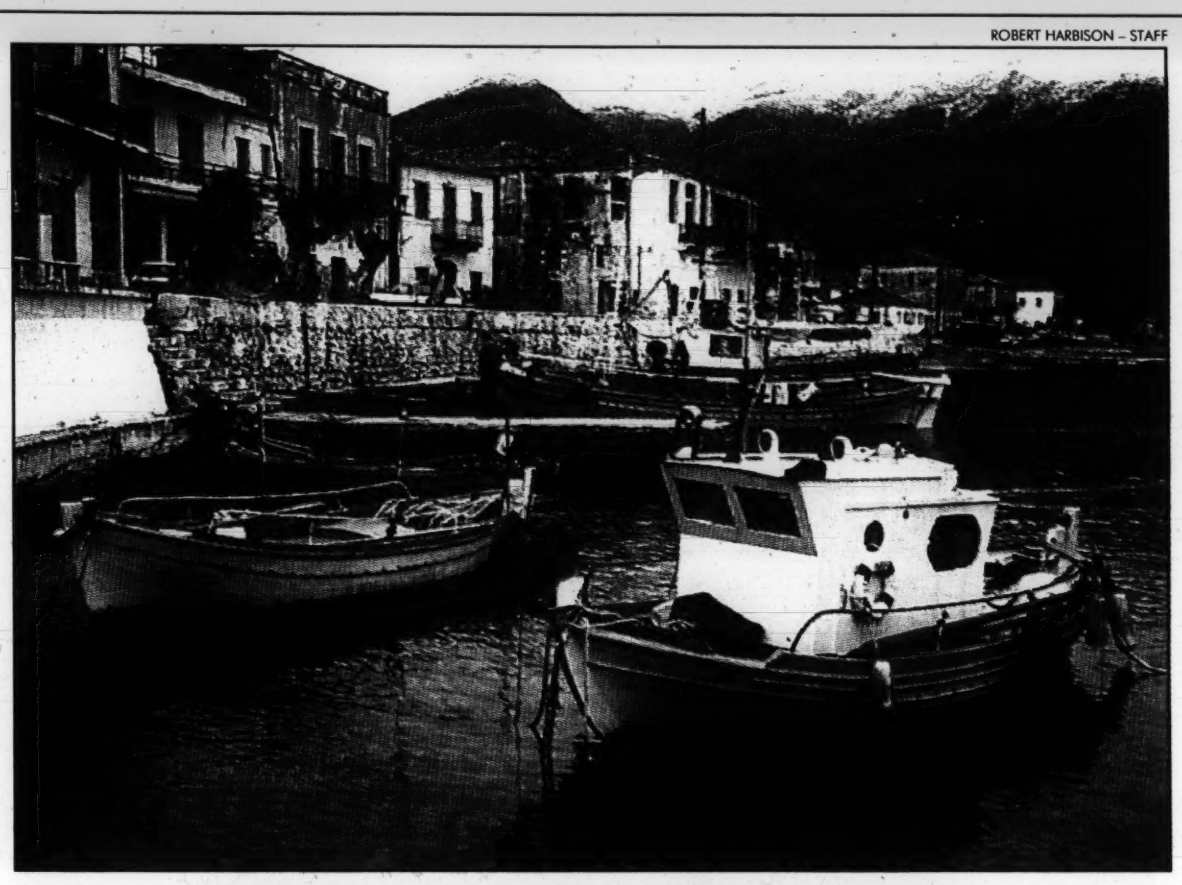
ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF



Amid the Fishing Boats of Nikolaos, Greece

A vacationing Monitor photographer in need of lodgings discovers a facet of Mediterranean culture that is even more ancient and noble than the country's majestic ruins. **PAGE 10.**

Serbia's Milosevic Tightens Pressure On Bosnian Serbs

Prospects of Western military intervention and trouble at home lead to change in tactics

By Jonathan S. Landay

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELGRADE

MANY political observers here are beginning to believe that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is genuinely determined to bully the Bosnian Serbs into halting the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

But they warn that Mr. Milosevic's public metamorphosis into a peacemaker should not be misinterpreted as a sudden embrace of the international plan to halt the war and an abandonment of his long-held goal of annexing most of Bosnia.

Instead, they say, he has chosen for now to preserve his own political fortunes rather than risk having foreign military intervention in Bosnia spill over into Serbia itself. **(US options, Page 3.)**

"Milosevic is just facing reality," says Stojan Cerovic, a political columnist with the Belgrade-based magazine Vreme. "In the case of military intervention, he is very much afraid ... that he could not keep the Yugoslav Army out of Bosnia. There are a lot of generals who would want to fight," Mr. Cerovic says.

Milosevic's new policy emerged after the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament defied his demand that it embrace the international peace plan authored by mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

Within hours of the vote, Milosevic responded by cutting off all supplies to the Bosnian Serbs except food and medicines. That was tantamount to an admission of guilt to charges that Yugoslavia has been providing them arms and ammunition.

Milosevic's apparent intention is to stave off the growing threat of Western military attack and gain the deployment of United Nations peacekeepers along the front lines. That would freeze the Bosnian Serbs' "ethnic cleansing"

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Clinton Retools the White House In Bid to Focus Political Message

Critics say the administration has been sending too many signals

By Marshall Ingwerson

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton is on the road again this week, in Cleveland, Chicago, and New York, to redeliver his message: He is still focused like a laser beam on the economy.

After weeks of bad press and a couple months of slipping in the polls, Mr. Clinton is retooling the White House, trying to regain the clarity and public confidence he last achieved on Feb. 17, when he unveiled his economic plan to a joint session of Congress.

The consensus from Democrats inside and outside the White House is that the administration needs stronger discipline in focusing its scattershot message.

The discipline must start with the president himself. The White House is trying to do too many things, it is sending too many signals, and Clinton is personally involved in too much of it, according to many outsiders.

Clinton presents the problem as one of communication – that the public is not seeing the true picture of the focus the president has sustained. "I haven't been out there as much as I should have been engaging the American people directly," he said Friday. "I've been here doing huge heavy lifting in long meetings on health care and the economy."

Several outsiders with White House and Democratic Party contacts note that Clinton comes from running a small state where the chief executive could take a close, hands-on approach to virtually every issue.

"Clinton is doing too much," says one Democrat. "His schedule is too full. Too many people have access."

"He does everything himself," says another, consultant Ted Van Dyk. "In Little Rock, that was manageable."

Part of the problem may lie in how the White House is structured. The president seemed to indicate this last week when he

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RACE RELATIONS

Violence in South Boston Prompts Search for Safety

By Elizabeth Ross and Shelby Siems

Staff writers of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

SENIORS attending South Boston High School today will be greeted with metal detectors at the doors and a doubled force of security officers.

Because of simmering racial tensions that resulted in a raucous street fight at "Southie" high on Thursday, city and school officials are stepping up safety measures and phasing in the return of students to the classroom over the next few days. Last week's incident – in which more than 200 white and black youths hurled invectives and rocks and other objects at one another – sent five people to the hospital, including Mayor Raymond Flynn, whose hand was hit by a brick. Three people were arrested, two of whom were not students at the school.

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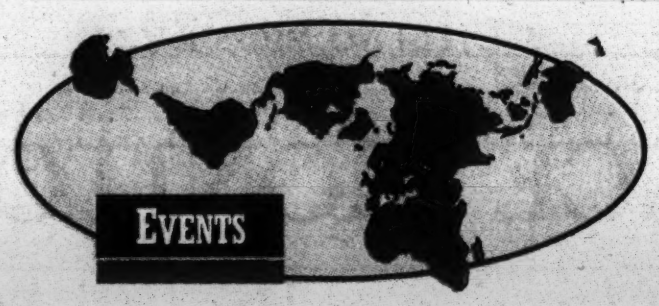

YELTSIN SAYS HOLD STRIKES ON SERBS

Russian President Boris Yeltsin said Saturday he hoped the Bosnian Serbs would approve a peace-plan referendum and that he opposed any outside military intervention in Bosnia before the vote. The self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament had decided to hold a vote on the United Nations peace plan. Yeltsin said any decision on military action could be taken only after the referendum results were known and that any such action needed approval by the UN Security Council. Meanwhile, a news report in Washington said Saudi Arabia can be expected to spend upward of $100 million as part of a multinational coalition that would buy and deliver weapons and ammunition to Bosnia Muslims. The Washington Post also reported that the Clinton administration has been playing a brokering role in which governments sympathetic to the Muslims would finance and supply arms to the Bosnian government.
(See stories, pages 1, 3.)

Reno: Reform criminals

In what would be a shift in United States policy, Attorney General Janet Reno said Saturday the US justice system needs to redirect its resources to crime prevention and drug treatment, not just jailing offenders. A program that balances punishment for nonviolent offenses with preventive measures, including job training and drug rehabilitation, has a far better chance of reducing crime, Reno said. Turning criminals into productive citizens is more cost-effective than releasing them without the skills to survive in the community, which increases the chances that they will return to burglary and drug dealing, she added.

War vet executed

Vietnam veteran Joe Johnson, who was diagnosed as suffering from a combat-related psychological disorder, was executed Saturday in Florida's electric chair for a 1979 shotgun murder. His lawyers had sought a sentence of life in prison. "When this death warrant is executed, Florida will electrocute a man injured and most probably maimed psychologically while serving in his nation's military in Vietnam and elsewhere," Florida Supreme Court Justice Gerald Kogan had written in a January ruling, in which the justices said their hands were legally tied.

Guatemala talks stall

A new round of talks aimed at ending Guatemala's civil war ended Saturday with the Guatemalan government and leftist rebels at a standoff over a timetable for the peace process. "It was not possible for the two sides to reach agreement on setting a date ... for a possible end to the armed conflict that has been going on for over 30 years," Mexican state news agency Notimex quoted mediator Monsignor Rodolfo Quezada Toruno as saying. Previous rounds of talks have hung up on the same issue.

Tamil bomber suspected

The suicide bomber who killed Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa just over a week ago has been identified by police as a resident of a Tamil rebel stronghold in northern Sri Lanka, the pro-government Sunday Observer newspaper reported yesterday. Another man who killed a top opposition leader a week before Premadasa's assassination also has been identified as a Tamil from northern Jaffna province, which is controlled by Tamil Tiger rebels, the paper said.

Djibouti election

President Hassan Gouled Aptidon of Djibouti has been re-elected to a fourth six-year term, officials said yesterday. Less than half the electorate voted in polls Friday, which were boycotted by supporters of the opposition Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy. The front's guerrillas control large areas in the north of the tiny Red Sea republic. Officials said Hassan, in power since independence in 1977, won 60.7 percent of the vote, making a second round unnecessary.

– Compiled by David Mutch

INTERNATIONAL

Britain's Premier Faces Doubts on Leadership

Conservatives urge Major to get a firmer grip on national policy

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

IN the latest sign of a weakening Conservative government, Prime Minister John Major's chief economic minister may be ousted in a top-level Cabinet shakeup.

Pressure for the removal of Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont began mounting in the aftermath of local elections May 6, which produced some of the ruling party's worst results in more than a century.

Mr. Major was forced to admit May 7 that his government had been given a "bloody nose" by a discontented electorate. Senior and rank-and-file Conservatives urged him to sack Mr. Lamont and other unpopular ministers and get a firmer personal grip on national policy.

Some senior Conservative policymakers are muttering ominously that if Mr. Major does not adopt a tougher leadership style and give the party and the country a clearer sense of direction, he could face a leadership challenge this fall.

"John is a nice chap," one government minister said, "but these results are disastrous. We need strong leadership and new ideas, and we are getting neither."

'John [Major] is a nice chap, but these results are disastrous. We need strong leadership and new ideas, and we are getting neither.'
– A government minister after local elections

Major's government still has more than three years to run. Negative popular reaction to a recession that has put 3 million people out of work is not surprising. What has stunned political observers is the bitterness of the voters' mood.

The election outcome appeared to confirm the findings of a May 7 Gallup poll showing that Major heads the most unpopular government since 1945, with an approval rating of only 20 percent and falling.

Widespread demands that Lamont should go are putting the prime minister in an awkward position. His party is divided on the Maastricht Treaty on European unity, and if he replaces the chancellor with either a pro- or an anti-European, he runs the risk of deepening the division.

The election results were far worse than Conservative Party strategists had anticipated and set in train a bout of political soul-searching. Much of the post-poll analysis focused on Lamont, who has been in charge of the nation's finances throughout the country's worst recession since the 1930s. There was also surprisingly blunt discussion of Major's performance as prime minister.

"I don't see Major as a strong leader," said a Conservative voter in Kent, where his party was badly mauled. "I had respect for the guy, but he has turned out to be a wimp."

Michael Colvin, a Conservative parliamentarian, turned his fire on the chancellor: "Mr. Lamont's time is up."

"Obviously he must go," agreed John Carlisle, another Conservative backbencher. "It is a pity he did not resign last autumn."

A disgruntled government minister added: "There is a sense of drift in the country, and only the prime minister can put an end to it. There must be changes at the top."

The remarks were part of a groundswell of anger that developed when it became clear that the government had suffered humiliation at the hands of millions of voters, many of whom usually support the Conservative Party.

In a parliamentary by-election in the town of Newbury, near London, the ruling party saw its majority of 12,000 in the April 1992 general election turn into a 20,000-vote defeat at the hands of opposition Liberal Democrats.

In local government elections in southern England – traditionally a Conservative bastion – Major's party lost control of 15 of the 16 county councils contested, some of which they have held continuously since the 1880s.

A striking feature of the results was the success of the Liberal Democrats, Britain's second opposition party after Labour.

Ivor Crewe, a polling analyst, said the Liberal Democrats' good showing in Newbury and in the county elections suggested that the May 6 vote was more a rejection of the Conservatives than an endorsement of Labour.

Paddy Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, claimed that the Newbury and county results showed that by itself Labour could no longer mount an effective challenge to the Conservatives. "The time has arrived when Labour and ourselves must start thinking in terms of partnership," he said.

But John Smith, the Labour Party leader, said he was "not interested" in formal pacts with the Liberal Democrats.

Labour's candidate at Newbury won only 2 percent of the vote. It was his party's worst showing in a by-election since 1945.

Mr. Smith, however, claimed that Labour had done well in the county elections. Sensing disarray in government ranks, he called for Major to cancel Lamont's plan, announced in March, to levy a tax on consumers of domestic fuel.

Criticism of Major reflects a feeling in Conservative ranks that he has made too many mistakes, particularly since the general election 13 months ago. He has failed to put an end to parliamentary bickering over Maastricht, retreated from a decision to close 33 coal mines, and has appeared indecisive over how to respond to the Bosnian crisis.

At Newbury the successful Liberal Democrat candidate made attacks on the government's economic policies the main plank of his platform.

In a bid to counter the Liberal Democrat attacks, Conservative Party managers sent Lamont to Newbury to help the local Conservative candidate, but the chancellor misjudged the mood. At a rally he was asked by a journalist whether he had made any mistakes, and replied in the words of Edith Piaf: "*Je ne regrette rien.*"

Hearing that comment, one Conservative voter decided to support the Liberal Democrat candidate, and said: "I expected him to say sorry – and I expected him to say it in English."

ENRIC MARTI/AFP

SERBIAN NATIONALISM: *Bosnian-Serb soldier kisses flag of self-proclaimed Serb Republic at parade last week. President Clinton wants to ensure that Belgrade cuts off supplies to Serb fighters in Bosnia.*

US Predicts Limited Effectiveness From Western Airstrikes on Serbs

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

WESTERN airstrikes could blunt the armed aggression of Bosnian Serbs but would be unlikely to force them back from territory they have seized, according to United States officials and military analysts.

Serb artillery would be the primary target of US and allied warplanes. Even with their big guns silenced, the estimated 40,000 Serb troops in Bosnia would remain well-stocked with smaller arms. Whether the shock of Western intervention would cause them to fall apart or fight harder is difficult to predict.

"If we want to affect the military situation on the ground, certainly we can do that. Whether we can be effective in the sense of changing the political dynamic is something else again," said Pentagon spokesman Bob Hall last week.

For the moment, the Western intervention option is on hold. US allies apparently remain reluctant to commit themselves to more-forceful action in the Balkans.

President Clinton over the weekend turned his efforts toward ensuring that Serbia cuts off supplies to its Bosnian-Serb brethren. Mr. Clinton asked Secretary of State Warren Christopher to consult with allied leaders in the next few days to see how they can check on Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic's promise to stop sending munitions, fuel, and food across the Bosnian border.

"This is a chance to test Mr. Milosevic's sincerity in this regard," said presidential spokesman George Stephanopoulos on Saturday.

As of this writing, the Bosnian government and the rebel Serbs had agreed to a cease-fire and the demilitarization of the besieged Muslim towns of Srebrenica and Zepa. Many cease-fires have been signed in the Balkans conflict, with the vast majority of them lasting only a very short time.

PENTAGON officials have engaged in a very public debate as to the efficacy of airstrikes in the Bosnian context. For the most part, the opinions involved reflect traditional service attitudes.

Air Force chief of staff, Gen. Merrill McPeak, for example, has said air attacks on artillery would be completely effective. Marine and Army generals have told Congress that they feel ground forces would have to be introduced to stabilize the military situation.

These disputes mask a general agreement among officials that Serb artillery would be at least neutralized. Many guns might survive, but they would have to shoot and scoot – lob a shell or two and then scuttle back into hiding.

And US officials and nongovernmental experts agree that air power is not going to completely destroy the Bosnian-Serb military machine. They would retain hundreds of mortars, for instance, small but deadly weapons of terror against civilian enclaves.

An effective counter to the Serbs would be Clinton's proposed one-two punch of bombing, plus arming of Muslim ground forces. Allies remain even less enthusiastic about arming the Muslims than about airstrikes, however.

"The fighting will continue," bluntly notes Ron Hatchett, director of the Mosher Institute for Diplomatic Studies at Texas A&M University.

The USS Theodore Roosevelt, known to its sailors as "The Big Stick," is currently off the coast of the former Yugoslavia. Its A-6 bombers and F/A-18 fighter planes could mount about 150 bomb runs a day against mainland targets.

The bulk of a bombing campaign, however, would likely be carried by Air Force F-117 and F-15E strike fighters carrying 500-lb. laser-guided bombs. As yet, it is not clear whether such planes have been moved to bases in Italy, the closest NATO facilities to the Bosnian fighting.

Besides artillery, bridges between Bosnia and Serbia might be airstrike targets. Sen. Richard Lugar (R) of Indiana said in a broadcast interview that Mr. Milosevic may be cooperating with the West out of realization that Serbia itself might become a bomb target.

"Clearly, strikes beyond Bosnia would have to be a very important part of the plan," Mr. Lugar said.

'YELTSIN NO, RUSSIA YES'

Russian Hard-Liners Again Take to Streets, This Time Peacefully

By Daniel Sneider
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

THE anniversary of the victory over Germany in World War II passed peacefully here yesterday, despite widespread fears of renewed violence between police and anti-government demonstrators.

Communist and extreme Russian nationalist groups tried to hijack the festivities politically by mounting a march from Byelorussky Railway Station, where 48 years ago Muscovites welcomed home victorious soldiers, to the gates of the Kremlin in Red Square.

In the days preceding the demonstration there had been talk of a repeat of the May Day clash between hard-line opposition groups and police that left hundreds injured and one policeman dead. This time, however, the authorities made a last-minute decision to allow the demonstrators to flow unhindered all the way to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier outside the Kremlin walls, and in an unusual gesture, onto Red Square itself.

President Boris Yeltsin, accompanied by other senior officials of his government, appeared earlier in the morning to lay wreaths at the tomb. He assured reporters that the day's celebrations would proceed without trouble. The police presence on the streets was light and yielding, though side streets were stacked with green trucks filled with waiting riot police.

An uncompromising mood was evident among the estimated 25,000 marchers who waved the red banner of the defunct Soviet Union and the yellow, black, and white tricolor of Imperial Russia. "We will be victorious; we will smash the fascist authorities," proclaimed a banner as the crowd moved down Tverskaya Ulitsa, a boulevard that is being revived as a shopper's paradise with foreign corporate investment. Communist marchers carried portraits of Stalin and Lenin in seeming oblivion past a billboard advertising Snickers candy bars.

Anti-Semitism, a staple of these rallies, was abundant. "Don't Sell Your Soul to Satan," urged a sign, accompanied by a Jewish Star of David. An angry man came up to denounce the "Zionist-Masonic" conspiracy responsible for all things wrong in Russia, and particularly for the Bolshevik revolution.

Anti-Western sentiments were also unconcealed. "Yankee Go Home," chanted a group in Red Square. "You foreigners want to put Russia onto its knees," an old man spit angrily at a group of Western reporters. "It's better to die on the barricades than live under the rule of CIA agents," another banner proclaimed.

A red banner with a Russian Orthodox icon of Jesus at its center captured the strange mixture of communist and ultra-nationalist themes that characterizes Russia's home-grown fascist movement.

The march flowed in serried ranks, veterans with their suit jackets covered with war medals and service ribbons out in front of each political formation. Up front, the politicians who have become the familiar faces of the hard-line opposition walked arm in arm: Sergei Baburin, the goatee-wearing leader of Russian Unity; Ilya Konstantinov, the stern, bearded leader of the National Salvation Front; Alexander Sterligov, the clean-shaven former KGB general and self-styled Russian nationalist.

A group of military veterans organized by the hard-line Union of Officers followed, led by Gen. Valentin Varennikov, the former Soviet Ground Forces commander also on trial for his part in the failed August 1991 putsch. "*Yeltsin Nyet, Rossiya Da,*" chanted the National Salvation Front. "Long Live Russia, Soviet and Socialist," asserted the banners of the Russian Communist Party.

Many of the faithful proceeded into Lenin's mausoleum in Red Square, passing in respectful silence past the waxen embalmed corpse of the Bolshevik leader. Others laid flowers at the graves of Communist leaders behind the mausoleum, piling the greatest number at the foot of Stalin's marble visage.

■ *Staff writer Justin Burke contributed to this article.*

SERBIA from page 1

and conquest of more than 70 percent of Bosnian territory.

The Bosnian Serbs could then paralyze the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan by dragging out negotiations.

"We should decide to gain ... our claims through peace and not through war," Milosevic told the self-declared Bosnian Serb parliament at its meeting last week in Pale, east of Sarajevo.

This was precisely the tack he followed in agreeing to the plan that ended the 1991 war in Croatia, where UN troops have been protecting the 35 percent of that former Yugoslav republic captured by Serbs.

In addition to announcing the arms cutoff, a Serbian government statement confirmed that rump Yugoslavia has been sapped of resources by the more than year-old sanctions imposed by the UN. Analysts say Milosevic is desperate to end the sanctions to avoid social turmoil that could result from economic collapse.

'HE has to be worried about the further effects of the sanctions," said a Western diplomat. "Sooner or later, the Serbian people may decide to blame the Serbian government."

But Milosevic may have committed an unprecedented political blunder in believing he can coerce Bosnian Serb leaders into accepting something they regard as a total betrayal of the war aims in which they were supported by the Serbian strongman for so long.

"He is like the pusher who gets someone hooked on drugs and then tries to get them off," says Ivan Vujacic, an opposition Democratic Party delegate in the rump Yugoslav Parliament.

For that reason, analysts say, Milosevic will almost certainly have to get much tougher with the Bosnian Serbs, who appear unfazed by the Yugoslav decision to cut off supplies, something that will be difficult to implement given the porous border. "Fortunately, we don't need anything from them except fuel and some trade," Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said. "We can survive as we survived for four years against Hitler, without receiving anything from abroad."

Analysts expect Belgrade television, controlled by Milosevic and received in Bosnian Serb-controlled areas, to launch a major propaganda blitz against Mr. Karadzic and his leadership this week. The aim, they say, would be to convince Bosnian Serbs to vote for the peace plan in a referendum scheduled for next weekend.

There are few guarantees, however, that Milosevic can whip his proxies into line. A large percentage of Bosnian Serbs support the rejection of the peace plan; it is vehemently opposed by hardliners in the Bosnian Serb military, as they would have to relinquish more than 30 percent of conquered territory.

Milosevic's about-face has also provoked angry protests from ultra-nationalist paramilitary parties in Serbia, particularly the Serbian Radical Party of Vojislav Seselj, a suspected war criminal.

Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) depends on the radicals' support to maintain minority governments at both the republic and Yugoslav federal levels. His decision to turn against the Bosnian Serbs could prompt Mr. Seselj to withdraw his backing for the SPS.

Opposition sources say Milosevic has begun exploring forging coalition governments with opposition parties in the event that Seselj turns against the SPS. One opposition member, speaking on condition of anonymity, said that despite widespread disdain for Milosevic, the main Democratic Movement of Serbia coalition and several smaller antigovernment organizations could be open to such an idea.

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In the neighborhood that was the center of ethnic hostility in the early 1970s when court-ordered busing began, city officials are making valiant efforts to avoid a repeat of an ugly period in Boston's history. The event comes when Boston is at a crossroads, as Mr. Flynn's nine-year reign ends.

City Council members disagree over what Thursday's conflict will mean for the city's future.

Councilor Charles Yancey, who is black, sounded a positive note. "I think it's really the beginning of the death knell of the politics of exclusion, racism, and sexism in Boston. This has served to mobilize not only the elected officials, but the community as well," he said after a special meeting called Friday.

"The missing story here is the tremendous progress that has been made. There have been relatively few incidents at the high school in the last 10 years," he added.

Some black leaders say the incident smacks of animosity they faced in 1974 when a judge ordered that Boston schools be desegregated.

"It was a mini-riot," snapped Councilor James Kelly, who represents South Boston and is white. "It was waiting to happen. It was worse than anything we saw in the '70s. No one's been able to get a grasp on how to [handle] racial issues."

While officials try to ease fears in the neighborhood, white South Boston residents and black leaders point fingers at each other, the mayor, and other leaders. Even Mr. Yancey and Mr. Kelly almost came to blows on Thursday.

The melee's cause is unclear, though racial tension has lingered in the white, mostly Irish community ever since blacks began being bused in. Recent events have stirred up discord, however. Last month, a white woman was allegedly beaten by a black man near her home. And at a community meeting early last week, adult whites used racial epithets to denounce blacks. Many say the adults encouraged the school fight.

"The grown-ups were saying, 'We want the blacks and Hispanics out of here,' " says Councilor David Scondras, who is white. "Why were we surprised [a few] days later when that was echoed at the high school?"

According to Flynn and School Superintendent Lois Harrison-Jones, among others, residents' fears were prompted by exaggerated accounts of students carrying weapons to school. Also, Flynn says, South Boston residents felt police were giving priority to crimes committed by whites on blacks. "I just ask the people of this city ... that they deal with factual information," Flynn says.

Some black leaders say the incident smacks of animosity they faced in 1974 when Federal District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr. ordered that Boston schools be desegregated. "It was all the same tactics used before with all the same people," says Paul Parks, who is black and is the chairman of the Boston School Committee.

Yancey, however, says comparing the confrontation to the '70s is somewhat unfair. "Today we have a different group of elected officials who are more enlightened and tolerant, and the city is more than 41 percent people of color," he said. "We're in a better position to address the level of tolerance and shared values for higher-quality education, and to end the violence."

Political observers say the conflict comes at an inconvenient time as Flynn gets ready to become ambassador to the Vatican. Although some may disagree, Flynn has been credited by many with efforts to promote racial harmony. In South Boston, for example, he pushed for integration of public-housing projects.

"It's an odd legacy for Flynn to have," says Lou DiNatale of the McCormack Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Massachusetts at Boston. "His single greatest contribution was having calmed those [racial] sentiments and having created the impression of a united city. For this to be popping out on the edge of his leaving has got to be a little disconcerting for Flynn."

Friday, Ms. Harrison-Jones released plans for heading off racial troubles at the school:

- A three-day phase-in of the return of students, beginning with seniors today and ending with ninth- and 10th-graders Wednesday.
- Hand-held metal detectors will be used.
- Five more security guards will take up duty. This doubles the force.
- Lockers will be searched for weapons.
- Two hotlines will be established.

CLINTON from page 1

announced that Roy Neel, Vice President Al Gore's chief of staff and longtime aide, would become a second deputy to White House chief of staff Thomas McLarty. Mr. Neel will handle day-to-day operations, allowing the current deputy, Mark Gearan, to think more strategically.

But those outside the White House who believe that it has a management problem do not see this move addressing the heart of the matter.

"The White House is not structured for message control," says Mark Siegel, a Democratic consultant and veteran of the Carter White House. To sustain tight focus in the White House requires a power to be centralized, probably in the chief of staff. "You need somebody who can say no, who can crack the whip," he says.

To his surprise, says Mr. Siegel, the Clinton White House was set up more like President Carter's, with power decentralized and with an accessible president dealing heavily with details. In Mr. Carter's case, he says, it caused "the perception that so much is going on that nothing is going on." In Mr. McLarty, Clinton has a chief of staff who is "very smart, very close to the president, but a small-d democrat" – that is, a nice fellow who wants to grant access to as many people and views as possible.

SOME say the problems of the Clinton White House are those of a young, aggressive, but inexperienced staff. "You cannot overestimate the degree of innocence and inexperience in the White House, including the president himself," says Mr. Van Dyk.

A more experienced president, says Van Dyk, "wouldn't have gone 10,000 miles near Bosnia," or tried to drop a huge health-care bill in the middle of a budget battle with massive tax increases, or tried to roll Senate minority leader Bob Dole on the stimulus package. Van Dyk says he encounters Democrats on Capitol Hill that are privately near consternation over the Clinton White House and the Democrats' chance at governance, wondering, "Is it gone already?"

Clinton shifted his rhetoric slightly last week to stress spending cuts in his economic package, and White House aides softened their deadline for presenting the health-care initiative. Now, White House spokesman George Stephanopoulos says, the health-care task force will present its proposal to the president before the end of May, but the president may not propose it as legislation until sometime thereafter.

James Lake, chairman of a large public relations firm and a communications aide in the Reagan administration and the last Bush campaign, sees a more fundamental problem: "Bill Clinton doesn't really stand for anything." The Clinton team has consciously sought to emulate the clear, simple agenda of the early Reagan years. The difference, says Mr. Lake: "It was always clear what Reagan stood for."

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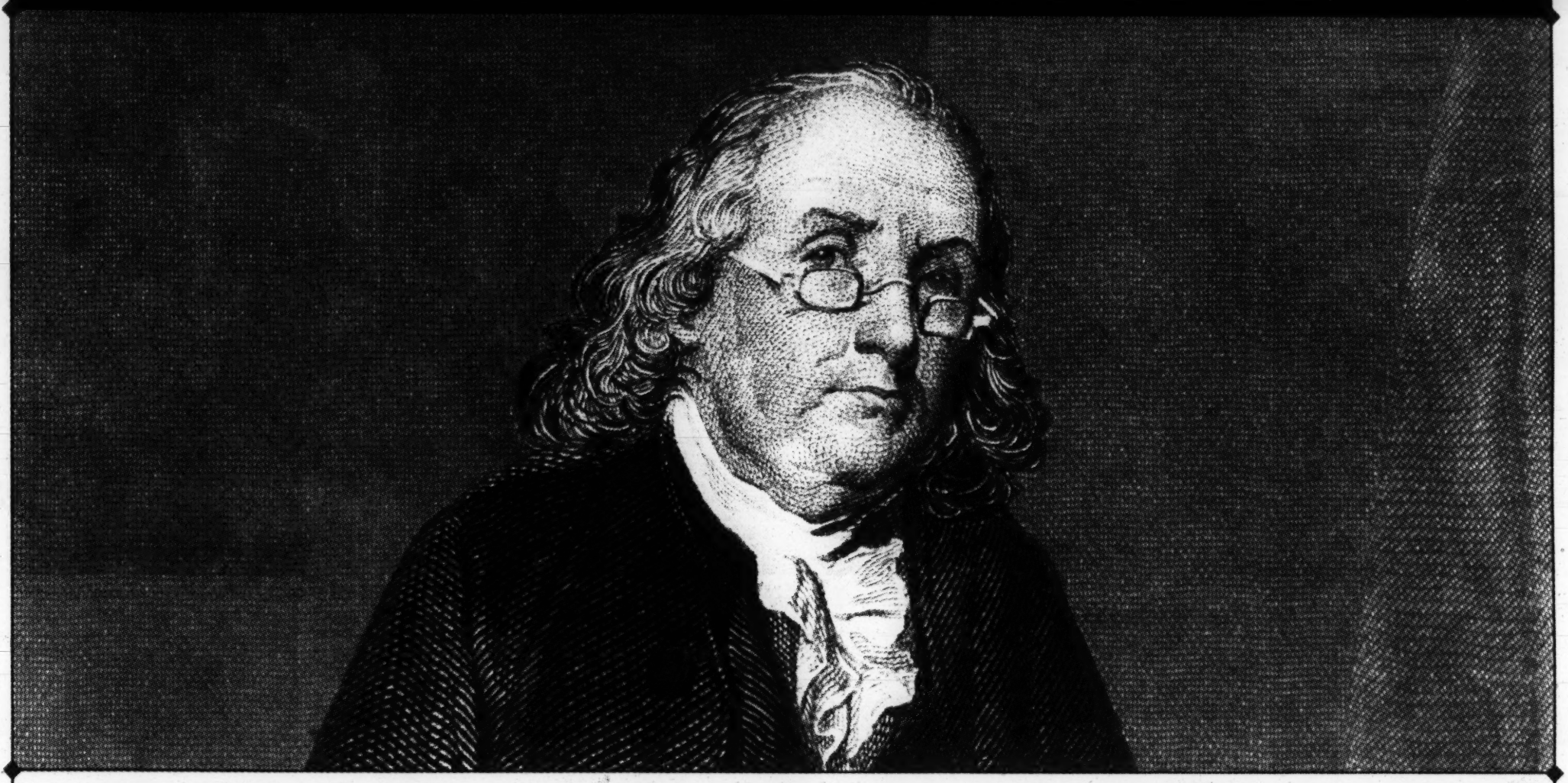

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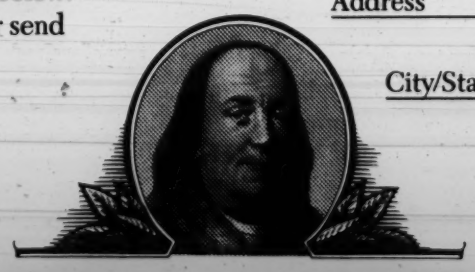

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NATIONAL

Concord Coalition Aims at Federal Deficit

Group led by former US senators proposes spending cuts, tax hikes, cap on entitlements

BILL GRANT – STAFF

A LATTER-DAY MILITIAMAN FIRES VOLLEYS: *Former presidential candidate Paul Tsongas rallies Concord Coalition in Boston last month. The group, which now has about 16,000 members, says Congress hasn't made hard choices.*

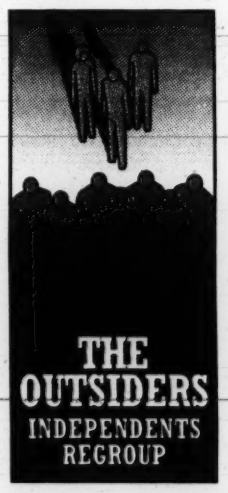
By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

THE sun is out and a slight breeze ripples through still-bare trees as a small crowd gathers near the Boston waterfront in early spring. The festivities begin with loudspeakers blaring patriotic music and organizers passing out T-shirts. Then a group of men dressed as colonial militiamen let off a thunderous volley with their muskets. The rally is under way.

This could be any political meeting anywhere, except for a few odd facts. First, it is happening this year, with no major election in sight. Second, the featured speaker is former Sen. Paul Tsongas, who says he does not plan to run for any public office again. And, finally, the speechifying focuses on only one concern: reducing the federal budget deficit.

That is the raison d'être of the Concord Coalition, a national grass-roots group whose Massachusetts chapter organized this kickoff rally.



The coalition was formed in September 1992 by Mr. Tsongas, a candidate for the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination; Warren Rudman, a New Hampshire Republican who quit the Senate last year; and Peter Peterson, a Wall Street investment banker. That the Concord Coalition formed at all "was almost an accident," Mr. Rudman says.

Message struck chord

On April 10, 1992, Rudman and Tsongas appeared together from Concord, Mass., on CBS News's "Face the Nation." During the program, the two veteran politicians found themselves agreeing that a bipartisan, grass-roots organization could do a lot to pressure the nation's politicians to reduce the deficit. That message struck a responsive chord with the public, and half a year later, Rudman, Tsongas, and Mr. Peterson were standing in front of a "deficit clock" in New York City to announce the formation of the Concord Coalition. "It didn't happen by design or plan, but it couldn't have worked out much better," Rudman says.

The coalition aims to reduce the deficit through a combination of spending cuts and tax increases. Among the steps the Concord Coalition advocates is a cap on entitlement programs, such as Social Security. While Tsongas and Rudman are less than happy with Clintonomics, they direct their real fire at Congress. Their former colleagues are reluctant to make the "hard choices" needed to drive down the deficit, they contend.

"Congress is the perfect weather vane," Tsongas says. "The way you change a weather vane is not by asking it to point in a different direction. You change a weather vane by changing the direction of the wind. That's why this has to be a grass-roots effort."

Encouraging response

Tsongas admits that he may not be able to convince most Americans to go along with his stern solutions, but he has been cheered by the response to his group's message so far.

The coalition's toll-free telephone number has been flooded by more than 120,000 calls, says field director Kitty Kurth. And each TV appearance by Tsongas or Rudman generates another flurry: 14,000 calls after they were on C-SPAN, 10,000 calls after PBS.

The Concord Coalition now has about 16,000 members who pay at least $25 each. But only about half of its $600,000 budget for 1993 comes from small donations; the rest is chipped in by wealthy donors. Among the businessmen who have donated heavily to the group: Eugene Friedman of Coopers & Lybrand, an accounting firm; George Hetsopoulos of Thermo Electron, a Massachusetts high-tech firm; and New York takeover artist Henry Kravis.

Their donations finance a small core of paid staff members. The national coalition has eight full-time people distributed among offices in Washington, D.C., Massachusetts, and Arizona. The national staff supervises coordinators in about 40 states, many of them working full time.

In Massachusetts, for example, the state coordinator is Jonathan Edwards, a Democratic political consultant who worked on Tsongas's presidential campaign. He now works full time for the coalition (he refuses to disclose his salary). Much of Mr. Edwards's time is spent raising money from wealthy individuals and corporations because, he says, "To get grass-roots participation going you need an influx of large donations."

In building its grass-roots base, the Concord Coalition has a natural constituency among voters who supported Tsongas in last year's Democratic primaries or who backed Ross Perot in the general election. Both campaigns focused heavily on the need to reduce the deficit and drew voters who were disaffected with business as usual in Washington.

But Tsongas is careful to disassociate himself from Mr. Perot. The former Bay State senator says he agrees with Perot's economic message but the Texan has not shown "his emotional preparedness to be president." In some ways, the Concord Coalition represents Perotism without Perot.

Like Perot's group, the Concord Coalition seems to draw its support mainly from middle-of-the-road, white, middle-class, rural or suburban voters. Ms. Kurth, the coalition's field director, says: "We're very conscious of the fact that our three founders are white men from the Northeast. We try to overcompensate for that by reaching into states and getting 'real people' involved."

But if the April 19 rally in Boston was any indication, the coalition has had only limited success in broadening its base. What the white, middle-class participants lacked in diversity, however, they made up for in enthusiasm.

John Gallant came from East Hampstead, N.H., to attend the Boston event because, he says, "It's time we did something to stop government from ruining us." The computer-firm employee, holding a coffee cup in one hand and a Boston Celtics hat in the other, says he is a former Republican who voted for Perot in the 1992 election. But he is concerned that the Texas billionaire may have ulterior motives for his political activity. By contrast, he says, "I like Mr. Tsongas. I think he's honest."

Legacy for future

Sitting nearby is Jim O'Connell, an airline pilot from Peabody, Mass. A Democrat who also voted for Perot last year, he joined the Concord Coalition in October 1992 after seeing Tsongas and Rudman on the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour. Like many coalition members, he says that he is in the group because, "When my kid grows up I want to look him in the eye and say I tried to build a fair chance for his future."

Mr. O'Connell, who also belongs to Perot's United We Stand America, displays the kind of enthusiasm for deficit reduction that other people around here normally reserve for the Boston Red Sox.

"I've never been involved in politics before.... But I got my whole family involved in this," he says.

His wife, listening intently, pipes in: "He gets a little carried away sometimes."

THE OUTSIDERS: SERIES SUMMARY

- Republican Party regroups. While Republicans unite around economic issues, deep divisions over social policy persist. GOP Chairman Haley Barbour tries to make Republicans the 'party of ideas' again. *May 4.*
- Battle at the grass roots. Christian Coalition and Republican Majority Coalition wage war over 'what the Republican Party will be.' Presidential hopefuls are now positioning themselves for the 1996 campaign. *May 5.*
- Shadow governments take shape. Leading Republicans form Empower America as a 'government-in-exile.' 'Shadow Government' on Capitol Hill opens a hornet's nest of ethics questions. *May 6.*
- Perot hears grumbing. Ross Perot rides high in the polls, but some members of his United We Stand America group are dissatisfied. *May 7.*

Reforming Campaign Finances – Tough Nut for President to Crack

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE White House and Congress are both in Democratic hands, so President Clinton's sweeping plan for campaign finance reform should breeze into law – right?

Well, maybe.

Even with one-party rule in Washington, campaign finance reform looks like a tough sell. Republicans are not buying Mr. Clinton's version of reform, and may filibuster it to death in the Senate. A number of Democrats also have serious doubts.

Reform comes hard, though the general concept has widespread support among both Democrats and Republicans. Ellen Malcolm, president of Emily's List, a Democratic fund-raising organization, observes: "Everybody wants to do something, and nobody agrees on what should be done."

Even Washington's professional "reform lobby" is divided.

Fred Wertheimer, president of Common Cause, praises the Clinton plan as "broad reform." He says it could "stop the [political] arms race that ... is being fueled by special-interest money." But Ellen Miller, executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics, says spending limits proposed by Clinton are "way too high" and "really don't represent reform."

While drawing significant criticism, the Clinton package, unveiled Friday, is still one of the most ambitious in years.

Clinton would put a "voluntary" cap on spending for House races at $600,000. Senate candidates could spend from $1.2 million to $5.5 million, depending upon a state's population. Clinton would also tighten restrictions on the amounts that political action committees (PACs) could contribute.

In a breakthrough for public financing, candidates who accept the voluntary caps would be granted communications vouchers to pay for broadcast time, newspaper ads, or mailings. Clinton would impose a new tax on lobbyists to help pay the costs. He would also boost the current voluntary $1 income-tax checkoff to $5, with the money to go for both congressional and presidential elections.

To reduce the influence of lobbyists, anyone who lobbies would be forbidden to give campaign contributions to any lawmaker they specifically tried to influence during the past 12 months.

Unless such measures are taken, politicians here worry that public confidence in Congress will continue to weaken. There is a growing perception among voters that special-interest money runs this city, and that the situation is getting steadily worse.

Speaking to a group of students on a brilliant, sunny day on the South Lawn of the White House, Clinton said May 7: "Without fundamental change in the way we finance campaigns ... everything will be harder to achieve. Economic reform, health-care reform, and political reform must go hand in hand."

While Clinton's plan sounds like progress to some reformers, Ms. Miller cautions that "the devil is in the details." Everyone wants the reform package fashioned their way.

Sen. Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the leading Republican spokesman on campaign finance, complains that Clinton will still allow millions of dollars from political action committees to influence campaigns. Senator McConnell would prefer a complete cutoff of PAC money.

Some Democratic congressmen who represent low-income districts fret that even the limited reduction of PAC money in Clinton's plan could put them at a disadvantage. They depend heavily upon PAC funds, since their own constituents are often too poor to contribute.

Some Southern Democrats balk at Clinton's proposal to spend millions of public dollars for "communications vouchers," and to expand the staff of the Federal Election Commission. Southern voters widely oppose public funding of congressional elections.

With all of these doubts percolating on Capitol Hill, Sen. David Boren (D) of Oklahoma, a reform advocate, says there is only a 50-50 chance that Clinton can win majorities for his plan in the House and Senate.

Yet if Congress and the president are ever going to pass reform, this should be the year. All sides are under growing pressure from voters, from interest groups like Common Cause and Public Citizen, from radio talk show hosts, and even from Ross Perot to clean up the election process.

If Congress fails to agree on a bill, "It will not be for lack of trying," says Rep. Al Swift (D) of Washington, who began working for reform during the early 1980s.

Debate is expected to get under way first in the Senate. Meanwhile, House majority leader Richard Gephardt, working closely with his colleagues, was reported to be crafting his own proposals.

It was not immediately clear how his plan might differ from the president's, though some of his fellow Democrats worried that the $600,000 cap on spending for each House candidate might be too low.

POOL/AFP/FILE

CLINTON AND STREISAND AT INAUGURAL GALA: *Barbra Streisand took a high-profile role in raising funds for Democratic candidates in the 1992 campaign.*

A historic moment as the Statue of Freedom takes summer vacation – a letter from Washington

National Treasure Lifts Off at Dawn

WASHINGTON

NO one had seen the nation's majestic Capitol dome like this – without its famous Statue of Freedom – since President Lincoln trod the streets of Washington.

A waning half-moon hung over the Capitol in the pale dawn sky as a bright orange S-64F Sikorsky Skycrane helicopter, resembling a huge grasshopper, lifted the 14,985-pound statue gracefully from its historic perch yesterday.

Moments later, the bronze figure, which had remained bolted in place 270 feet high for 130 years, was quickly lowered to the ground in front of the Capitol's east side.

As it settled gently into place, thousands of onlookers, many of whom had waited in the pre-morning darkness, applauded and cheered.

The classical statue, with its large, inscrutible eyes, will for the first time be thoroughly cleaned, repaired, and coated to protect it from corrosion.

Cast in the early 1860s at a foundry near Washington, D.C., the statue is in good condition, despite all the years it has been exposed to the elements, specialists say.

Casting techniques in the 1800s, however, weren't what they are today.

Experts with the office of the Architect of the Capitol say a core sample of the bronze that they tested was filled with pockets of vaporized alloys. These have caused surface pitting.

The protective coatings, which will include acrylic lacquer and wax, should slow the deterioration.

Visitors to Washington will see the Capitol bare of its statue for the next five months. During that time, the restoration work will take place in an enclosure on the east Capitol grounds.

Removal of the statue was an "event" for Washingtonians, many of whom were up by 4 a.m. to see a team from Erickson Air-Crane Company of Central Point, Ore., and members of the Architect's staff detach the statue from its pedestal. Erickson charged $60,000 to remove the statue, and to put it back in the fall.

The early hour was selected because winds are usually calmer – a critical factor for the helicopter pilot, who had to keep his craft hovering directly over the statue for several minutes as workmen attached four cables to the bronze figure.

Excitement infected even some members of Congress, who stood with the public to watch the removal.

Among those spotted among the crowds were House Speaker Thomas Foley (D) of Washington, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D) of Ohio, Sen. Alan Simpson (R) of Wyoming, and Rep. Wayne Allard (R) of Colorado.

Dozens of reporters were there to cover the event, many admitting that they volunteered for the assignment so they could be present for what they considered to be a historic moment.

As the gawky helicopter's six huge rotors lowered the statue, winds whipped up with great force, blowing dirt and debris over spectators, and knocking over some television equipment.

The statue, which was placed on the Capitol in December 1863 at the height of the Civil War, is the work of Thomas Crawford. Standing 19-feet, 6-inches tall, it is a classical female figure with flowing draperies.

The woman's right hand rests on a sheathed sword. Her left holds a shield of the United States with 13 stripes for the original 13 colonies, and a laurel wreath of victory.

On her head is a crested Roman helmet, which was a compromise in the original design. Mr. Crawford had proposed a liberty cap, symbol of freed slaves, but he changed it after objections from then Secretary of War Jefferson Davis.

Crawford made a plaster cast of the statue at his studio in Rome, but he died before the cast was shipped to the United States.

Cost of the renovation will be about $750,000, all collected from private contributions. The original cost of the statue was $23,796.82.

– John Dillin

ISRAEL'S RABIN FACES A CRISIS IN HIS CABINET

JERUSALEM

■ Interior Minister Aryeh Deri was expected to resign yesterday, a move that would throw Israel's coalition government into turmoil and likely provoke a Cabinet reshuffle.

Rabbi Deri, a leader of the ultra-orthodox Shas Party, had vowed to resign because the outspokenly secular Shulamit Aloni, of the left-wing Meretz alliance, had not yet been fired as education minister, as Deri had demanded.

The resignation, however, would not take effect for 48 hours, giving Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin until Tuesday night to save his coalition.

Should Deri withdraw from the Cabinet, taking his six fellow Shas members of the parliament out of the governing coalition, Mr. Rabin's parliamentary majority would be reduced to one vote.

While this would be sufficient to stay in office, the government would be dependent on the votes of five Israeli-Arab members of parliament. Rabin has been reluctant to admit the Arabs into his coalition government because he does want to be the first Israeli premier to appoint an Arab to a ministerial post.

Such an uncertain majority, even members of the ruling Labor Party concede, would not be firm enough for the government to pursue meaningful peace negotiations with its Arab neighbors. With popular opinion now evenly divided over the merits of conceding land for peace, Rabin needs a strong parliamentary majority in favor of his planned concessions in order to claim a mandate for them.

The most likely outcome of the crisis, most observers believe, is a Cabinet reshuffle which would move Ms. Aloni to another ministry. On Sunday, however, Meretz was still refusing to countenance any change in Aloni's status.

Shas has long opposed Aloni's control of the education ministry, and anti-religious statements she allegedly made in Warsaw during Holocaust memorial celebrations have again aroused the ultra-orthodox community's ire.

Deri's critics, however, see his threats as muscle flexing to illustrate his political clout, in a bid to convince the government not to press corruption charges against him. Police fraud-squad officers are on the point of winding up a three-year investigation of Deri, which is expected to result in criminal charges of misappropriation of funds.

– **Peter Ford**

If the US fails to curb North Korea's apparent nuclear ambitions, Japan and South Korea may feel impelled to make their own nuclear weapons

US Prepares to Talk With N. Korea

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

As a key player in the high-stakes drama over whether North Korea will pull out of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) before a June 12 deadline, the United States may soon enter center-stage.

The US has agreed in principle to hold high-level talks with its adversary in Pyongyang as a concession to keep the Communist regime under the NPT's inspection process, with some reports that a meeting might take place as early as this week.

"The US is willing to meet with North Korea to help resolve the current situation resulting from actions North Korea has taken in the nuclear area," a US State Department spokesman said last week in Washington.

But the danger exists that such talks might help North Korea avoid possible economic sanctions being considered by the United Nations or allow it to continue a suspected nuclear weapons project.

Nuclear incitement

The negotiations could be one of the most difficult for the Clinton administration, with the risk that failure to curb North Korea's apparent nuclear ambition might incite South Korea and Japan to make their own nuclear bomb. And Washington is keen not to let North Korea set a precedent by being the first to pull out of the 155-nation international accord, or to be led into more concessions.

"The important question for Seoul is how can Pyongyang be made to give up the nuclear option," says Kyudok Hong of South Korea's Research Institute for National Unification. "Talks between Washington and Pyongyang could break the impasse and give more room for Seoul to move forward in North-South relations."

Past military regimes in Seoul have strongly opposed a separate dialogue between the US and North Korea. The Stalinist government of Kim Il Sung has long sought to divide the alliance between the US and Seoul, hoping to use such a division to rally South Koreans to revolt.

But with a fully democratic government in Seoul under a civilian president, Kim Young Sam, South Korea is more secure in its confrontation with the North, and has even encouraged a reluctant US to consider talks with Pyongyang.

North Korea recently announced a "10-point Program for Grand National Unity," which repeats many previous positions, but puts priority on a strategy of dialogue, not only with the US but between North Korea and non-government groups in the South.

The North announced on March 12 that it would withdraw from the treaty after it was confronted with a demand by the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for a special inspection of two sites. The IAEA, which enforces the treaty, used US satellite photos and other information to accuse North Korea of making far more bomb-grade plutonium than it reported. Under a 90-day waiting period required by the treaty, the North's withdrawal would not take place until June 12.

US expectations that China, the North's only major ally, might persuade Pyongyang to drop its withdrawal plans were diminished when Beijing wanted the US to talk with North Korea first.

'Talks between Washington and Pyongyang could break the impasse and give more room for Seoul to move forward in North-South relations.'

– Kyudok Hong, expert on Korean unification

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF

"The United States is the chief criminal who gave rise to the nuclear problem in Korea," said North Korea's official newspaper, Rodong, on April 19. "If the IAEA values impartiality, it must condemn the United States first of all, not the Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

South Korean analysts say such statements indicate that Pyongyang can count on China to block Security Council sanctions or tone down any resolution. The full Council meets today to hammer out the final wording of a resolution.

Pyongyang charges the IAEA with a double standard, saying that nuclear development by South Africa and Israel, Japan's nuclear energy policy, and the US nuclear "umbrella" for South Korea are "ignored with impunity."

The North opposes the Council taking up the issue, saying a solution can only come in talks with Washington.

Diplomacy needed

On April 12, officials from Japan, the US, and South Korea met to coordinate their positions, and they gave a green light to the US opening talks with the North. The US was reluctant to "reward" a nation that wants to flout the NPT, but South Korea decided that almost any diplomatic effort was needed to bring the North back into IAEA inspections.

On April 22, South Korea announced that US Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff would lead high-level talks with the North.

South Korea does not worry about the US venturing into talks solo with the North because of a new cooperation between Washington, Tokyo, Seoul, and Beijing.

Mr. Tarnoff's predecessor in the Bush administration, Arnold Kantoer, met with Kim Young Sun, director of the international department of North Korea's communist party in New York in January 1992, just after North and South Korea signed a wide-ranging peace agreement that has since not been implemented.

Highest-level contact

Those talks were mainly a chance for the US to state its concerns about the North's nuclear program. But they were the highest level contact between Washington and Pyongyang since the end of the Korean War in 1953. The US has held 32 secretive, low-level talks with the North since 1988, but only between embassy counselors in Beijing. The latest meeting was May 5 in what was seen as a possible prelude to vice-ministerial talks. Higher-level talks would imply a forum for negotiations and not just information exchange.

By agreeing to talk, the US may give Pyongyang enough of a face-saving triumph that it might agree to stay within the treaty.

South Korea's official news agency Yonhap reported that a North Korean diplomat in Cairo stated that Pyongyang had "already decided to return to the NPT."

The US may be waiting for just such an informal signal before entering the talks.

South Korean Foreign Minister Han Sung Joo told reporters that the talks would take place "only at the right time," interpreted to mean that North Korea must first agree to stay within the NPT.

But in anticipation of the talks, North Korean officials have leaked demands that they plan to present to the US. They want:

- the US to stop its joint military exercises with the South,
- the right to inspect US military installations in the South,
- a US guarantee that it will not launch a nuclear attack on North Korea,
- the US to lift its nuclear "umbrella" over South Korea,
- and the US to recognize the socialist system in North Korea.

But the outgoing commander of the US forces in South Korea, Gen. Robert RisCassi, sees it differently.

"North Korea is no longer manageable," he told a Senate committee on April 21. "We are increasingly concerned that North Korea could slide into an attack as an uncontrollable consequence of total desperation or international instability."

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ECONOMY

A BET ON FUTURE RATES

Treasury Shifts Toward Short-Term Financing

By Ron Scherer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

WHERE will interest rates be 30 years from today?

Obviously, no one knows the answer to this question. But last week, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen in essence made a bet that interest rates will stay the same or be lower than today on average over 30 years. The Treasury, Mr. Bentsen announced, would shift 45 percent of its financing from long-term bonds to short-term securities.

The immediate effect of this shift is to lower the cost of financing the deficit since short-term interest rates are much lower than long-term rates. The Clinton administration estimates this shift will save $16 billion over the next four years.

While the lower cost will benefit the taxpayers in the short run, will it benefit them over the longer pull?

Economists are not certain.

Robert Brusca, chief economist at Nikko Securities Company International, believes the move will help President Clinton more than the taxpayer. "What is everyone else doing?" asks Mr. Brusca. "They are refinancing their mortgages to lock in low long-term rates. The government is saying, 'Not me,' " he says.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

LLOYD BENTSEN

The timing of the government move is wrong, agrees David Wyss, research director at DRI/McGraw-Hill in Lexington, Mass. Sometimes such a move can work. If the Treasury, through the 1980s, had kept the same maturity as the 1970s (2.5 years), DRI calculates the government would be paying $100 billion per year less in interest. "The Treasury's funding has been screwed up – it's the longest funding of any government debt," he argues. Today, the average maturity is six years.

Economist Brian Keyser of CRT Government Securities Ltd. says the government merely has to have short-term interest rates remain at an average lower than the average long-term rate.

"History says that will happen," he says.

He compares the government's move to decisions individuals face when offered a floating-rate mortgage or a fixed-rate mortgage with a higher interest cost. "There is obviously more risk for financing short term, but you get paid for the risk if you are right," he says. The risk is that once the short-term securities mature, interest rates will rise, costing more in the future.

Some economists believe the government's decision will be beneficial to the economy. "There is an argument it will make it easier for corporations to borrow" long term, says Bruce Steinberg, manager of macroeconomic analysis at Merrill Lynch & Co.

In a newspaper article, economist Henry Kaufman, president of Henry Kaufman & Co., argues such long-term borrowing would make US corporations less short-term oriented. "That will stimulate business to make long-term commitments in the form of plant and equipment investments, research, and new product development," wrote Mr. Kaufman last week.

There are risks to the government decision. If inflation soars, short-term interest rates would rise, costing the US government billions in extra interest payments. When short-term rates move higher than long term rates, economists term it an "inverted yield curve." This happened in 1987-88 when the Federal Reserve Board started tightening interest rates dramatically. It also happened during President Jimmy Carter's term when short-term rates shot as high as 21 percent, reflecting soaring inflation.

At the moment, economists don't see signs of economic overheating or a return of the Carter inflation days. The government releases April producer and consumer price numbers this week.

Voice Mail Grows in Sophistication, But Many Companies Use It Poorly

By S. C. Llewelyn Leach
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

'VOICE-MAIL jail" is how Gordon Matthews describes the experience of getting trapped in a telephone messaging system that refuses to give the caller a human being to talk to.

That is not what Mr. Mathews, the inventor of voice mail, had in mind when he first marketed the system in 1980.

"The real purpose of voice mail is to let people communicate with each other at their mutual convenience" from a touch-tone telephone, he says. "There's a lot of misuse of voice mail as I originally intended it."

The misuse, says the Texas-based entrepreneur, comes most often in the form of automated attendants, the computer-generated voice that tells you to "Press 1 if you want ticket information," for example, or "Press 2 if you want customer service." The menu can seem endless. In the worst cases the computer takes a half minute or more to recite its list. And too often the option to speak to a "live" operator is at the end, wasting time and money.

Customers get a bad taste about voice messaging systems and businesses that use them, says Communications Briefings, a business-communication newsletter in Blackwood, N.J.

Asking whether voice mail helps or hurts the bottom line is "like arguing whether [the fact that] people can write is a good thing or a bad thing," suggests Martyn Roetter, a vice president at Decision Resources in Boston. Voice mail is tremendously valuable if used sensibly, he says, and is as much a key to competitiveness as other basic business tools like computers.

The problem, telecommunications experts agree, is not voice mail itself but how companies deploy it.

To be competitive means knowing when to provide a real person at the end of the line. For Matthews, that means whenever there's an incoming call. "When anybody calls a business the phone call should be answered by a person that's very knowledgeable and very courteous."

In this age of cost cutting, however, support staff like telephonists and secretaries are often the first to go. If a $20,000-a-year operator can be trimmed from the bottom line and replaced by a 24-hour, highly efficient machine, management often does so.

But voice mail is not a substitute for service, warns Mr. Roetter. "It behooves businesses to look seriously at the kind of staffing levels they need to provide acceptable service."

Matthews's vision for voice mail was two-fold: It would largely replace costly, time-consuming internal company memos and letters; it would solve problems of telephone tag, different time zones, and busy lines.

Around 50 percent of all telephone calls are to convey information and don't require a two-way conversation, according to an AT&T study. Voice mail enables people to leave more detailed and confidential messages than a secretary could be expected to jot down.

New sophistication is being added in the form of automatic paging devices that alert an individual to urgent messages in his voice mail. Or electronic-mail messages of text that the computer reads into the voice mailbox. Or a link to the facsimile machine enabling people to call in to their voice mail to find out what faxes have arrived.

Interactive response systems, such as where you call up your bank's computer to find out account information, are some of the most lauded and efficient applications of voice response technology, with no human interaction at all.

Within the next five years new technology may also replace the long menus of automated attendants. Instead of listening to options callers will use a screen phone or "graphical user interface." AT&T Smartphone has a four-line display.

Still, Matthews is careful to distinguish between internal and external communications. All these gadgets don't obviate the need for "real-time interaction" (otherwise known as "conversations") with outside callers.

Although familiarity with the new technology is growing as voice mail and its derivatives become widespread, telecommunications surveys show that 30 percent of Americans still won't talk to machines.

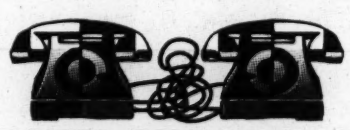
Their reluctance may be compounded by poorly designed voice messaging systems. Matthews, who runs his own voice-mail servicing company in Austin, Texas, says some systems "miss the boat as far as human factors are concerned," offering callers minimal guidance and negligible human support. "You really have to want to leave a message," as he puts it.

To avoid such pitfalls he recommends that companies planning to set up a voice messaging system first write a mission statement: Who is going to use the system and why.

The next crucial step is to train employees in voice mail etiquette. Too often, Matthews says, employees let their voice mailbox take all the messages while they do something else. "I think it's just a matter of courtesy if somebody calls and your phone is ringing that you pick it up."

Etiquette or no, voice mail is here to stay. The market for voice processing equipment grew from $308 million in 1985 to $2.5 billion in 1991.

Even private residences in some parts of the country can rent voice mailboxes for a monthly charge of $10.



VOICE-MAIL ETIQUETTE

BOSTON

Communication Briefings, a Blackwood, N.J., newsletter, offers the following tips for voice mail etiquette:

- Greetings should be short, friendly, slow enough to understand, and in plain English.
- Options on a menu should be in order of popularity, so most people don't have to listen through a long list of alternatives before their own option comes up.
- Callers should always be given an easy exit so they don't wind up in "voice-mail jail." If they want to talk to a live operator, make that one of the first options on the menu.
- Don't put voice mail on a complaints line, unless you have too many callers. It is not a good substitute for service and will send all the wrong signals about your business.
- Check your voice mail frequently and try to respond within 24 hours.
- Program your messaging system to kick in after a couple of rings. People tend to get frustrated by waiting more than a few rings and may hang up.
- Try the system out yourself to learn if what seems "efficient" from the inside is exasperating customers.

ODYSSEY

CHECKING: *Framed by olive trees, a villager inspects the contents of a fishing boat in the harbor of Nikolaos, a Greek town where fishing and tourism predominate.*

HARBOR SCENE: *With the Taygetos Mountains rising in background, brightly painted fishing boats dot the Nikolaos har*

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF

Seeking The Soul Of Greece

Visitors in need of lodgings discover a facet of the country that is even older and more noble than its ruins

Photos and story By Robert Harbison

Staff photographer of The Christian Science Monitor

NIKOLAOS, GREECE

AFTER a couple of days in bustling Athens, my wife and I rented a car and headed out to find the "real" Greece.

We investigated the spectacular ruins at Delphi; we experienced ancient Mycenae and the famous Lion Gate; we listened to the perfect acoustics at the ancient amphitheater at Epidaurus. While driving, we got lost and happened upon two huge meteor craters created in the 19th century near the Peloponnesian town of Didama. This was real adventure.

Yet we felt there must be something more than ruins, museums, and meteors. We had seen and talked to a lot of Greeks, but most were English-speakers whose job it was to cater to tourists. There must be an everyday Greece out there, the "soul" of Greece.

We spent a day visiting the beautiful Byzantine ruin at Mystra high above the city of Sparta, inland on the Peloponnese Peninsula. It was the off-season, drizzly and cold. We wanted to spend the night somewhere on the coast where the weather would be warmer. But we came to the Gulf of Messinia only to find that the hotels in the small towns were still closed.

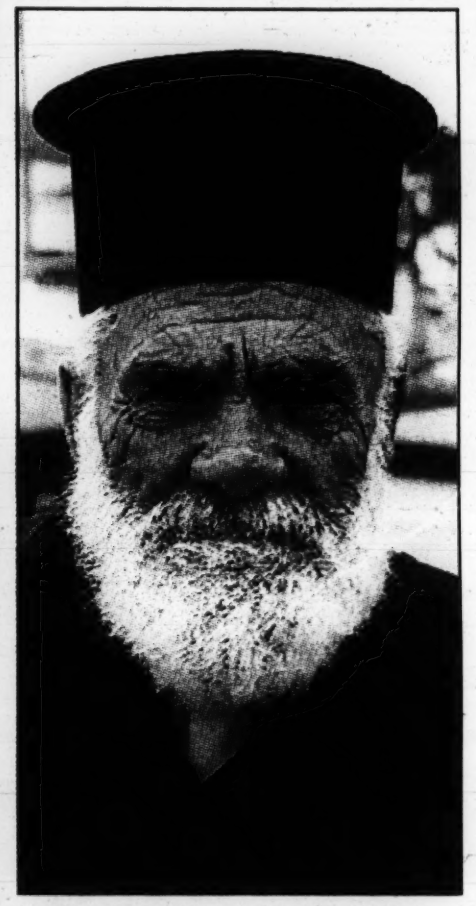
As dusk approached, the scenery grew more and more striking: Dramatic vistas of ocean and mountain stretched away on either side of us. But with no place to stay, we faced the prospect of going all the way to Kalamata, the next large city, where we would surely find a hotel. That meant we would pass through this scenic part of Greece at night.

In a last-ditch effort to find lodging, we turned off the main road toward what showed on our map as a small zero with no dot in the middle: Nikolaos. But, as in the other towns, every pension and hotel was closed. We drove back to the town square and pondered what to do next. A local, sensing our problem, pointed toward the sea. We drove down a road to the water's edge. On the left was a hotel called Faros. All the windows were dark. I went next door.

It was the hotel owner's home. He knew what we needed. Quickly, he opened the small hotel and took us to our room. He brought space heaters from his home, lit a fire in the fireplace in the dining area, and made us a dinner of pork chops, potatoes, salad, and bread. Here was a Greece that, for cold and hungry travelers, wasn't far from paradise. Using snatches of English, German, and Greek, we managed to converse.

Our effort to stay in Nikolaos was re-

e Nikolaos harbor. Staff photographer Robert Harbison and his wife spent a morning wandering through the town.



NIKOLAS MAKRULIAN: *A Greek Orthodox priest makes a Sunday visit.*

DAY'S CATCH: *Red scorpion fish and others fresh from the sea.*

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warded. By daylight, the town was a living postcard: the Mediterranean a pristine blue; colorful fishing boats bobbing in the small harbor; white buildings with painted shutters seeming to rise to snow-capped mountains in the distance.

The western shore of the Mani peninsula, where Nikolaos is located, surely must be one of the most beautiful coastlines in all of Greece. The winding road follows the base of the Taygetos Mountains, which are dotted with small towns at the water's edge. The rough terrain limits farming mainly to growing olives. Fishing and tourism predominate. The history of the region survives in Byzantine ruins and churches.

We spent that morning wandering through Nikolaos, then headed north in the knowledge that we had discovered a part of Greece that cannot be found in the ruins. It predates them, in fact, and lives on: Greek hospitality.

FISHERMAN: *Nikos Kelepoyris (his catch is seen in photo above, right) stands at dockside after a morning's work.*

JUSTICE

Among those pursuing 'free enterprise' in Russia are street crooks, mafiosi, and corrupt officials, but authorities are cracking down

Russia Launches a 'War on Crime'

By Justin Burke
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
MOSCOW

ACTING on a tip, Russian customs police in March surrounded a truck near the city of Vyborg on the Russian-Finnish border. The vehicle's invoice described the cargo as cans of "meat and potatoes" from Colombia, but upon opening the containers authorities discovered more than a ton of cocaine.

The drugs had a street value of about $200 million, officials say. The cocaine's likely final destination, they add, was Western Europe, since few people in Russia can afford the drug.

"Never before have the [Russian] security services intercepted such a huge load of drugs," said Viktor Cherkesov, chief of the Security Ministry's regional office.

The drug haul may have been the largest ever recorded in Russia, but it was hardly an isolated incident these days. Russia's free-market reforms have prompted a sharp escalation in crime to go along with the burst of entrepreneurial activity.

"Experience shows that when a society is shaken by great changes, it has an effect on the growth of crime," Interior Minister Viktor Yerin said at a news conference.

Tales of murder and mayhem are daily fare in the Russian press. A recent Tass news agency report told of masked gunmen armed with automatic weapons who stormed into the Moscow office of a Russian import-export company and murdered four employees.

Statistics paint a gloomy picture. According to the newspaper Izvestia, a record 2.76 million crimes were registered in Russia during 1992, a 27 percent increase over 1991. Murders were up 40 percent in 1992 over the year earlier period, while robbery was 80 percent higher last year than in 1991. There were 30,000 drug-related crimes in 1992, almost five times more than a decade ago, though still proportionately fewer than in the West. Also, about 1.5 million firearms were illegally purchased in 1992, the Interior Ministry says.

Russian law-enforcement officials – long accustomed to working under an authoritarian system that kept a tight lid on crime – have been slow to adapt to new conditions. But lately they have started to crack down. In mid-February, at a special gathering of law-enforcement officials, Russian President Boris Yeltsin formally declared "war on crime."

"Crime has become problem No. 1," Mr. Yeltsin told the meeting. "Crime has acquired such a scale and character that it poses a great danger for individuals and for the entire Russian state."

While street crime is a concern, by far the biggest problem facing Russia is organized crime and corruption, top officials say. About 4,000 organized criminal groups were identified in Russia last year, and Yeltsin said 40 percent of private businessmen, and 60 percent of Russian companies overall, are corrupt.

On a regional government level, Russian Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov said, corruption is a problem because in many cases the mechanism for reform and privatization is entirely in the hands of officials who receive relatively meager salaries.

Corruption and criminal behavior also are rife in the military, according to Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. About 3,000 officers, including two regional commanders, have been reprimanded for engaging in questionable business practices, and 46 generals and other officers are facing criminal charges, General Grachev said in a television address.

"Corruption in the organs of power and administration is literally corroding the state body of Russia from top to bottom," Yeltsin said at the anticrime summit.

Waging their fight against crime will be difficult, officials agree. The biggest problem is a lack of money. Russia's government will be hard pressed to finance anticrime programs, given the nation's desperate economic condition.

Another big obstacle, Mr. Stepankov said at a news conference, is an outdated criminal code that last underwent a major revision in 1961 when the Communist Party was in firm control. In the current criminal code, for instance, bribery is ill-defined, Mr. Stepankov complained. Experts are working to revise the code.

TO combat street crime, the Interior Ministry plans to bring police ranks up to full strength, Mr. Yerin said. In Moscow, the interior minister pointed out, the police force is under strength by 8,000 agents.

Already, the Interior Ministry has introduced joint street patrols involving police and Army soldiers. A similar move two years ago was widely criticized as a step toward the reintroduction of the totalitarian system. But today, almost 80 percent of Muscovites polled favored joint patrols, the Interfax news agency said.

In addition, elite Interior Ministry troops have begun training for operations targeted at organized crime, according to Tass. "If we don't take decisive measures now, we'll arrive at a point at which the government will become ineffectual and the mafia will become the real power," Yerin said.

'Crime has become problem No. 1. It poses a great danger for the entire Russian state.'
– Boris Yeltsin

Meanwhile, President Yeltsin has authorized the formation of an Interdepartmental Commission whose chief task will be to uncover government corruption. The commission, which is subordinate to the Russian Security Council headed by Yuri Skokov, will have broad powers to investigate any official under suspicion of bribery.

Already there have been some high-profile arrests. Vladimir Panskov, first deputy chief of Russia's taxation service, was taken into custody in late February on bribe-taking charges, Tass said. Officials say tax evasion is costing the government millions of dollars in lost revenue.

But law-enforcement officials stress that the battle against crime is only beginning and will be widened in coming months.

"There have been results, but we aren't satisfied. We've only uncovered the tip of the iceberg," Stepankov said. "Measures taken by law-enforcement agencies aren't adequate to meet the current level of organized crime."

Talk about expanding the activity of law-enforcement agencies is unsettling to some legal experts, who worry about the possibility of officials' using the "war on crime" for their own political ends. Some authorities are portraying crime as a more serious problem than it really is, said Sergei Pashin, chief of the Judicial Reforms Department of the State Legal Agency. While the situation has worsened, he added, it's still not as bad as in a major American city, such as New York.

PERHAPS the greatest danger to Russia's nascent democratic institutions comes from the Interdepartmental Commission, some political observers say. The commission's ability to investigate government officials without strong oversight makes it susceptible to political manipulation, warned Izvestia political analyst Mikhail Berger.

"As a result of such a practice, there may well appear so-called 'black dossiers' that often serve as a weapon in political struggles," Mr. Berger wrote recently. "All this may sharply increase the political influence and level of real power of the Security Council."

Some legal experts argue that authorities are missing the mark in their war on crime. Strengthening law enforcement and introducing tougher laws won't solve the problem, they say. The situation will improve, they add, only when the population begins to respect the law.

"What matters is not so much the law, but honoring the law ... and its mandatory character for all citizens," wrote legal specialist Anatoly Volobuyev in Izvestia.

"However, this country has never had, and doesn't now have such a thing as uniform observance of the law. For authorities there was always such a thing as 'the unwritten law,' and that makes a great difference."

JOHN VAN PELT – STAFF

Russians Say 'Give Us Arms'

MOSCOW

A MAJORITY of Russian citizens agree with security officials that crime is a growing problem, according to a poll conducted for The Christian Science Monitor. But many also say the best way to fight crime is to give people the right to defend themselves, instead of strengthening law-enforcement agencies.

The poll was conducted between Feb. 7 and Feb. 15 by the Moscow-based Center for International Social and Market Research, which interviewed 4,000 people. The poll has a margin of error of less than plus or minus 1 percent.

Poll respondents answered as follows:

	Percent
1. *Are you afraid of rising crime in Russia?*	
Yes	60.3%
No	15.1
Difficult to say	17.4
No answer	7.3
2. *What types of crime present the biggest threat today in Russia?*	
Burglary, robbery, auto theft	36.1%
Corruption, government bribe taking	28.0
Murder, rape, assault	26.0
Racketeering	5.0
Vandalism	2.0
Drugs and prostitution	1.6
Speculation and swindling	1.4
3. *What is the principal reason for the growth of crime in Russia?*	
Drop in living standards	44.5%
Lack of effective laws and nonobservance	26.1
Decay and corruption in top echelons of power	10.6
Loss of faith in the government	7.1
Desire to get rich quickly and easily	6.1
Collapse of moral standards and values	3.6
Spread of guns in society	1.9
4. *What steps would be most effective in the fight against crime?*	
Permit citizens to carry weapons for self-defense	33.1%
Strengthen law-enforcement agencies	28.3
Stricter criminal code, stricter enforcement	19.6
Trade-union and citizen street patrols	19.1

– J. B.

Percentages do not add up to 100% because of rounding.

The President From Yale Law

YALE Law School has long been identified with a vision of law not only as a means to settle disputes and maintain order, but also as an instrument of social change. So it won't be surprising if an administration headed by two graduates of that law school has an activist legal as well as political agenda. Many liberals and conservatives alike anticipate (or, in the case of conservatives, dread) that the Clinton Justice Department will be a hotbed of "reformist" lawyering on issues ranging from civil rights to the environment to the criminal-justice system.

Ironically, though, other liberal observers express the hope that, under President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno, the department will in fact be less political than it allegedly was during the Reagan and Bush years. In the view of these critics – such as New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis – the Reagan and Bush Justice Departments were improperly "politicized" by conservative zealots who adopted legal theories and fought for policies outside the American mainstream.

Mr. Lewis and others argue that the Justice Department – while its leaders will be sympathetic with the outlook of the president who appoints them – generally should be above politics. Impartiality, professionalism, and lawyerly detachment should be the hallmarks of the department, they say; the department shouldn't have an "agenda" other than the pursuit of evenhanded justice.

THE LAW

"That's a garbage issue," says Harvard Law School Prof. Charles Fried of the accusation that the Reagan and Bush Justice Departments were "politicized." Mr. Fried was solicitor general (the government's top advocate before the Supreme Court) under President Reagan. "It's what you say when the other party is in power."

In Fried's view, the only wrongful politicization of the Justice Department occurs when its lawyers "cut deals for presidential cronies" or otherwise corrupt the legal system for political reasons. As to the positions the department takes on controversial legal issues, he says, "that's what elections are about."

Indeed, no thoughtful observers doubt that the Justice Department will always be a crossroads of law and politics. Lincoln Caplan wrote a 1987 book condemning what he regarded as political abuses in the solicitor general's office under Reagan; yet he says: "There's no such thing as the pure pursuit of law undivorced from politics. Conservatives and liberals agree on this."

OK, so how "political" will the Clinton Justice Department be? Very, many observers expect. They point not only to the president's longtime interest in legal issues, but also to the influence of first lawyer Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton "and her people are very interested in [legal] matters," says Terry Eastland, an analyst at the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington and a former department spokesman under Reagan. "This will be a very liberal Justice Department, and I think it will push the envelope wherever possible." Though a conservative, Mr. Eastland says he accepts this approach as the Clinton administration's prerogative.

Mrs. Clinton's influence has been evident in the appointments of top Justice Department officials. Nominee Webster Hubbell (for associate attorney general, the No. 3 slot) is a former law partner of Hillary Clinton, while Eleanor Dean Acheson (nominated to head the Office of Legal Policy) was a Wellesley classmate. Other nominees to run Justice Department offices similarly have personal or professional ties with the first lady. (The top two White House lawyers, counsel Bernard Nussbaum and deputy counsel Vince Foster, also are former colleagues of Mrs. Clinton.)

One of the president's most controversial nominations to date is Lani Guinier (Yale Law '74), tapped to head the Justice Department's civil rights division. A longtime legal activist, Ms. Guinier has focused on affirmative action and strengthening blacks' political clout under the Voting Rights Act. "How can Clinton ever oppose quotas after appointing Guinier?" Eastland asks. Conservatives may try to "Bork" Guinier in her confirmation hearings.

The debate over politicization will go on, but let's accept in principle that the setting of legal policy is one of the spoils of political war. It will be fascinating to watch how Clinton's legal team uses its power. One thing's for sure: These Yale lawyers and their legal soulmates did not come to Washington to be, in the words of Oliver North's Irangate attorney, "potted plants."

– James H. Andrews

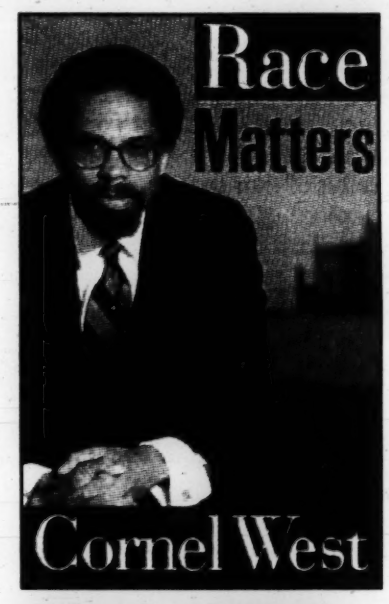
BOOKS IN BRIEF

BLACK AMERICA LOOKS AHEAD

The first trial of the Los Angeles police officers who beat Rodney King, the devastating riots that followed acquittal of the officers, and the recent civil rights trial resulting in the convictions of two of the officers have focused public attention on the plight of many black Americans today.

Three new books written by black scholars raise a larger question: What will life be like for African-Americans in the 21st century? Each of these books draws on W. E. B. Du Bois's volume "The Souls of Black Folk," written in 1903. And each suggests that the issues raised in the Rodney King episode (though they were written before the most recent verdicts) will affect not only African-Americans, but all Americans in the century ahead.

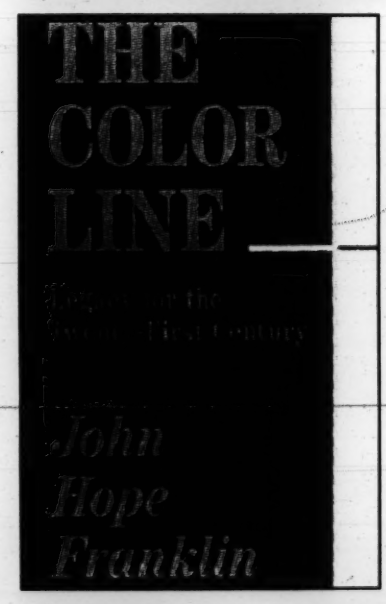
RACE MATTERS, *by Cornel West (Beacon Press, 105 pp., $15),* interprets a range of black views on race relations – from the conservative ideas of Harvard University Prof. Martin Kilson to the question of black rage raised by Malcolm X. In the preface, West, professor of religion and director of Afro-American studies at Princeton University, explains one of the influences behind his book: "Du Bois's prescient pronouncement – 'The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line' – haunted me." The "color line" is a racial barrier.



"To engage in a serious discussion of race in American," West writes, "we must begin not with the problems of black people but with the flaws of American society – flaws rooted in historic inequalities and longstanding cultural stereotypes. How we set up the terms for discussing racial issues shapes our perception and response to these issues."

Each chapter identifies a specific issue African-Americans may face in the 21st century. The final chapter concludes that the controversial Malcolm X offers the most acceptable, although unfinished, approach to achieving racial harmony.

"Malcolm X was the first great black spokesperson who looked ferocious white racism in the eye, didn't blink, and lived long enough to tell America the truth about this glaring hypocrisy in a bold and defiant manner," he writes. "Only if we are as willing as Malcolm X to grow and confront the new challenges posed by the black rage of our day will we take the black freedom struggle to a new and higher level. The future of this country may well depend on it."

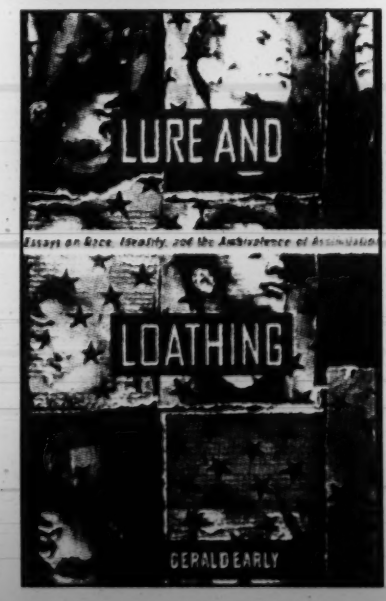


THE COLOR LINE: LEGACY FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, *by John Hope Franklin (University of Missouri Press, 87 pp., $14.95),* is a collection of three lectures delivered at the University of Missouri by Franklin – one of America's most honored historians.

The first, "A New Beginning: A False Start?" assesses the Reagan and Bush administrations' 12 years in office: "Reagan was not long in office before he began to contribute to the climate that tolerated racism and, indeed, encouraged policies and measures that denied equal opportunity and equal treatment," Franklin writes. Appointments of conservative African-Americans to the Reagan administration indicate how out of touch Reagan was with the desires and views of black people. Although the nation elected and reelected the Republican ticket in 1980, '84, and '88, African-Americans voted no confidence in the GOP and helped vote the Bush team out of office in 1992, he says.

In "A Color-Blind Society: Finding the Way," Franklin cites Plessy v. Ferguson, the 1896 Supreme Court case that articulated the "separate but equal" doctrine. He concludes that Justice John Marshall Harlan's dissenting statement that "our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens" has become the accepted view of most American citizens.

Nevertheless, "The color line is alive, well, and flourishing in the final decade of the twentieth century," Franklin states in his final lecture, "A New Century: A New Nation?" "We need to do everything possible to emphasize the positive qualities that all of us have, qualities which we have never utilized to the fullest, but which we must utilize ... to solve the problem of the color line in the twenty-first century."



LURE AND LOATHING: ESSAYS ON RACE, IDENTITY, AND THE AMBIVALENCE OF ASSIMILATION, *edited by Gerald Early (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 351 pp., $23.50),* presents the ideas of 20 leading black intellectuals on topics that range from assimilation to separation to an American blueprint for the good life. Editor Gerald Early asked each writer to discuss whether what Du Bois said in 1903 is still true today.

In Early's own essay, the dean of African-American studies at Washington University in St. Louis recounts a talk with his daughter about why she should have more black friends and avoid the label of "oreo" (black on the outside, white on the inside).

She questions his comment. This book explores points the father and daughter raise in their discussion.

The subtitle, "Essays on Race, Identity, and the Ambivalence of Assimilation," is based on a quotation from Du Bois's "The Souls of Black Folk." Each essayist uses Du Bois as a catalyst for spinoff ideas.

Poet Nikki Giovanni, for example, shows how subtle lyrics were used in black blues music to make the black community ponder racial injustices. Toni Cade Bambara writes from what she calls a "demonic model" of Du Bois: "We make history ... you make dinner. We speak ... you listen. We were born to rule ... you were born to serve." C. Eric Lincoln calls the "double-consciousness" of Du Bois's " 'lure and loathing' a romantic euphemism for black self-hatred."

This book offers insightful expressions of black thought across economic, intellectual, and philosophical lines – viewpoints that can enlighten not only Early's daughter, but sons and daughters of other readers as well.

– Luix Overbea

FILM

Branagh Loses Focus In Film Version Of 'Much Ado'

The skilled actor takes on tasks of writer, producer, director of Shakespeare's comedy

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

FROM all the evidence, Kenneth Branagh wants to be Orson Welles and is working hard to achieve this lofty goal.

His new movie, "Much Ado About Nothing," is the latest installment in Mr. Branagh's effort. In the best Wellesian style, he has directed the picture and written the screenplay – closely based on William Shakespeare's comedy about pride, deception, and twin love affairs – in addition to playing the most important role. He is also credited as producer, and he has surrounded himself with an impressive array of supporting players.

There's little in Branagh's new movie to put him anywhere near the Wellesian status he seems too eager to reach.

All of which puts Branagh squarely in the footsteps of Welles, who similarly enjoyed controlling all aspects of his productions and flaunting his talents on both sides of the camera.

So why isn't "Much Ado About Nothing" likely to enter the film-history books alongside Welles's great "Othello" and "Falstaff"?

The answer is simple: Welles was a towering artist with prodigious insights and a steady stream of innovative ideas, while Branagh is just a talented young man with more energy than inspiration. He does things correctly, and at times he brings a noticeable bit of flair to a shot, a scene, or a piece of comic business. But there's little in his new movie – or his three previous outings as a multiple-threat filmmaker – to put him anywhere near the Wellesian status he seems too eager to reach.

He would have a better chance at future greatness if he stopped spreading his abilities over so many areas, chose one aspect of his career to concentrate on, and worked like crazy to realize all its possibilities. "Much Ado About Nothing" indicates that his strongest suit is in the acting department. So the best course is clear: Branagh should leave the writing and directing to others, and focus on becoming the most exciting on-screen presence of his generation.

That's a goal worth reaching, and it's a lot more realistic than competing with a legend like Welles.

Branagh's screenplay for "Much Ado About Nothing" takes the traditional Hollywood route of condensing the text, clarifying the action, and highlighting the broadest comic and dramatic ingredients. He goes for speed and economy by trimming the play to slightly more than 90 minutes. And he retains only the essence of Shakespeare's romp about two couples who marry despite foolish vanity and the machinations of an evil betrayer.

Less successfully, Branagh also tries for dreaminess and poignancy by stopping the story in its tracks for silly slapstick and dreary music interludes. His camera style is efficient but ordinary.

His directing of performances has varying degrees of success. Emma Thompson and Denzel Washington come off superbly as Beatrice, the sharp-witted beauty, and Don Pedro, the handsome prince. Robert Sean Leonard and Keanu Reeves are competent as love-struck Claudio and the villainous Don John. And Kate Beckinsdale plays the sadly betrayed Hero with a good deal of charm. Michael Keaton makes a wretched impression as Dogberry, however, and Branagh shares the blame for clumsy mishandling of what should be the film's most amusing moments.

By contrast, Branagh's own portrayal of Benedick is first-rate on almost all counts. He speaks his lines with a fine mixture of deft characterization, self-deflating humor, and poetic lilt; his gestures are thoughtfully conceived and wittily executed.

In his previous Shakespeare movie, "Henry V," he fell short of his ambitious goal, which was to render a familiar hero more "psychological" and "complex" than previous interpretations (including Laurence Olivier's classic version) had done. His acting is much closer to the mark in "Much Ado About Nothing," and that's cause for celebration.

There will be more to celebrate if Branagh realizes that acting is where his fullest talents lie and puts all his attention into developing this.

■ *"Much Ado About Nothing" is rated PG-13. It contains some nudity and sensuality, and deals with adult themes.*

CLIVE COOTE/SAMUEL GOLDWYN COMPANY

TENDER MOMENT: *Benedick (Kenneth Branagh) reveals his love for the sharp-witted beauty, Beatrice (Emma Thompson), in a scene from Branagh's remake of the Bard's story about pride, deception, and romance.*

Western Musicians Take Note of Eerie Japanese Sounds

NEW YORK

IN 1967, at the first rehearsal of Toru Takemitsu's piece for Japanese flute, lute, and Western orchestra, members of the New York Philharmonic burst out laughing as soon as they heard the Japanese instruments.

Stunned, Mr. Takemitsu called off the rehearsal. It was a rocky reception to his first efforts to rediscover his roots – the ancient music eclipsed for nearly 100 years by Japan's rush to Westernize.

In the quarter-century since then, however, modern Japanese musicians and composers have persevered. Their struggles to integrate the eerie, often mournful, sounds of their past with the Western music with which they grew up have blossomed. And these days Westerners aren't laughing – they're taking note.

"It's a very exciting time right now – a chaotic, interesting time," says Mari Kimura, a Japanese composer and violinist studying at the Juilliard School in New York. "Until the '60s, we were trying to catch up to Western traditions. That influence is out."

ARTS

Western music came to Japan only in the late 19th century, after the country embraced the West following 200 years of isolation. But like other Western ways, it took a fast hold.

The differences between Western and Japanese classical music or *hogaku* are complex. But simply put, Western classical music is more concerned with melody, harmony, and repetition – the building of sound that the listener can recall.

Hogaku – much like some contemporary Western music – is something you don't follow, but rather lose yourself in. It revolves around loose timing to diverse sounds, including the imitation of nature or the use of silence.

Today, Western music still prevails in Japan for the budding musician or composer. Toho Gakuen School of Music, for example, considered by many to be the top school in the country, has no courses in hogaku.

But in the contemporary music world, a cacophony of styles has emerged from the blend of West and East – from spicing Western scores with Japanese instruments or musical ideas, to jazzing up hogaku with modern technology.

"It's come full circle," says Hilary Tann, a Welsh composer. "Their heritage has been recognized as valid and full and renewing in itself."

And in the United States, modern musicians and composers are listening. Ironically, two Westerners who were making their own discoveries about Asian music – John Cage and Olivier Messiaen – helped inspire many Japanese to return to their musical roots.

"The cutting edge of modern music wants to study this music," says Ronnie Seldin, a New York-based shakuhachi master who plays in an ensemble mixing Japanese instruments and modern music, along with running a shakuhachi school attended by professional musicians and composers.

The instruments are "fascinating in their own right," Ms. Tann notes. "And composers are always looking for new sounds."

– Associated Press

Helping Children, One-on-One

Children coming from homes without heat, lights or water and who must share a cot or floor mat to sleep on—children who are malnourished and know little of the world beyond their impoverished surroundings—face, at best, a dreary future.

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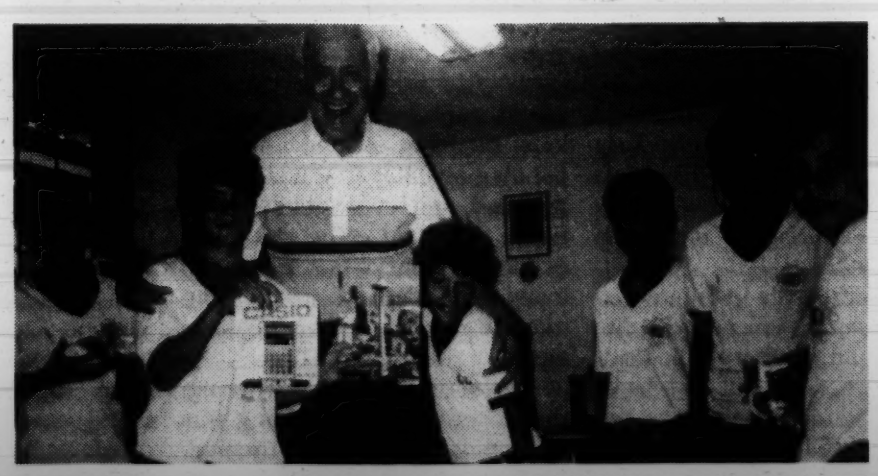

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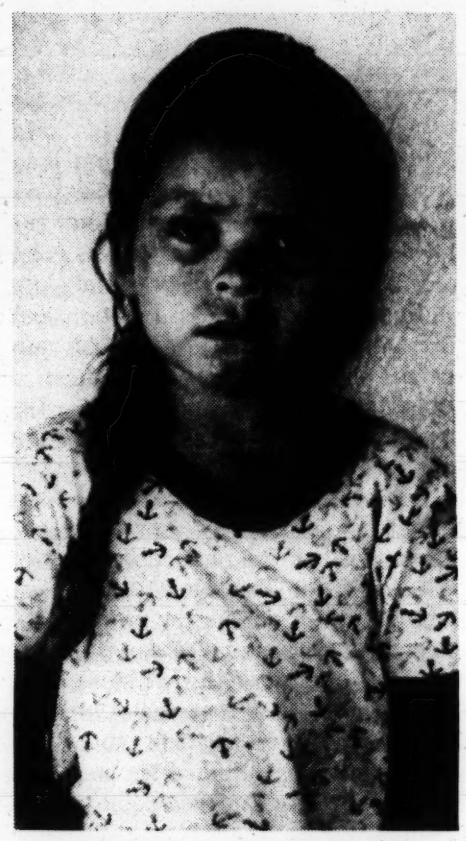

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The Home Forum.

Painter, Calligrapher, Critic

TUNG CHI CHANG (1555-1636), an artist of the Ming Dynasty, was an important figure in the world of Chinese art. He was known not only as a painter and calligrapher but also as a critic. Although the Chinese regarded his painting less highly than his calligraphy, both talents enhanced his reputation as a man of influence and critical vision.

During the Ming Dynasty, the Chinese passionately devoted themselves to the assertion of past greatness. The dynasty was a native house coming to power after a bitter century under the Mongol yoke, and the Chinese wanted to reassure themselves of their innate superiority over other peoples. To this end, they set about compiling encyclopedias, histories, and compendiums related to their past. This was a period in which critics flourished, and Tung Chi Chang, an arrogant man, took the field of painting under his scrutiny. He began to classify it, leaning on tradition, his theories colored by his scholarly bias.

A highly educated man and comfortably situated, Tung took the civil service examinations early in his life, passed, and became a member of the bureaucracy. Being independent and making enemies easily, he moved in and out of office throughout his career; he would retire, then later accept a post if it were highly placed enough. All the while he painted, wrote, and produced marvelous calligraphy.

Strangely enough, it is the West that has lately decided to praise him as an extraordinary painter. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York recently completed a show of his work.) In China, his critical views and his calligraphy, rather than his painting, were extolled. It was to his advantage to be lauded for his calligraphy, because a man's calligraphy, quite apart from its intrinsic beauty, was thought to be an indication of his character and virtue. In theory, only a good man could be a great calligrapher.

TUNG'S position and renown were such that 300 years later when the Communists seized power, they did all they could to defame his memory. He had not been a man of socialist instincts, and his followers continued to praise him as a brilliant intellectual, a supreme example of the literati. The Red Guards desecrated his grave.

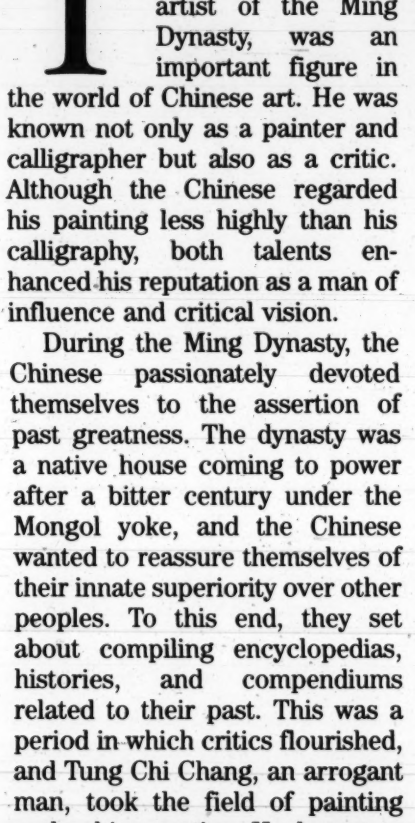
Tung maintained that only the *wen-li*, members of the scholar-artist class, could really paint, in the true sense of the word. (It went without saying that every gentleman painted, just as in Elizabethan England all gentlemen could sing.) Tung downgraded the professional artists who earned their living by the brush and were not scholars; only the independent scholar, he claimed, was free from worldly influence. This premise appealed to the snob element among his colleagues.

Tung's analyses of the history of painting were well accepted but were not new. They were only presented in a more imperious manner.

He espoused the time-honored idea of a separation between the Northern and Southern schools of art. (The word "school" is loosely used.) He stated that the artists of Southern school worked in consonance with Zen Buddhism, which relies on sudden inspiration and enlightenment, while the Northerners were pedantic and meticulous, plodding on and often depending on color (not necessarily popular) and even going in for figure painting. The Northern School, in point of fact, contained many superlative artists, but many were bedeviled by prejudice against professional painters.

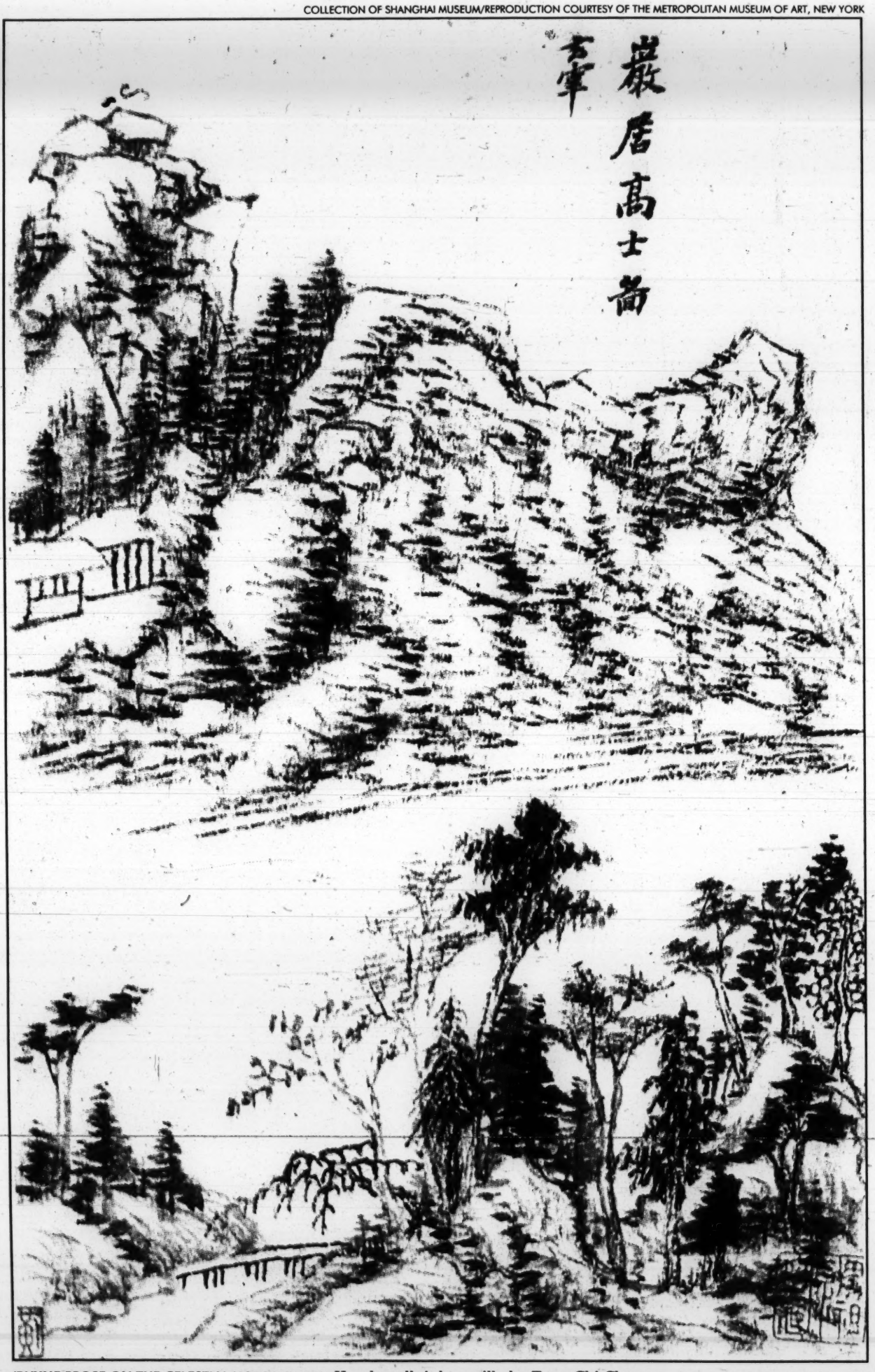
By the time Tung was working, the imperial house of Ming was beginning to collapse; in the mid-17th century the dynasty would fall, destroyed by its own corruption and greed. Tung's praise of austerity, of a life apart from the vulgar world, attracted many who were both disgusted and bitterly disappointed by the failure of their government, from which they had hoped so much. Soon China would be conquered by the Manchus, and once again would be under foreign rule. In this climate, the scholars and gentry found some strength in the beauty of Tung's calligraphy, evidence of the virtues that might keep the invaders at bay.

The calligraphy shown above is inspired by a poem written by the artist Mi Fu (1051-1106) about the Celestial Horse. Mi Fu was a gifted Sung Dynasty painter, also a poet, as were so many artists, the Chinese thinking the two arts closely related. The lower character, the one that means horse, is unmistakably the old ideograph, though it is simplified and inscribed in a free, untrammeled style with a broad, wet brush. This character for horse usually contained dots in the under section, conveying



'EIGHT MOODS OF AUTUMN' (1620): *Album leaf, ink and color on paper, by Tung Chi Chang.*

COLLECTION OF SHANGHAI MUSEUM/REPRODUCTION COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK



'RHYME PROSE ON THE CELESTIAL HORSE' (1612): *Handscroll, ink on silk, by Tung Chi Chang.*

The Ebb and Flow Of a Springtime River

I WAS sleeping when I heard it: the river. For almost five months, it had remained locked up tight under its mantle of gray and slate ice. Occasionally a light snow would dust it, or a heavier storm meld it with its banks. But I always knew it was there. Dormant. Waiting.

What I heard sounded like rumbling from the belly of a large animal: an echoed resonance from somewhere deep under the river, elicited by an April sun that was now high enough and shone long enough to rouse the water. Soon no more snow covered the ice. And then cracks rent its face.

The thaw had begun.

A river lays claim to our awe and imagination in a way that ponds and lakes never can. Running water. People are drawn to it. A river is powerful, flexing its muscles against its banks. It is always going somewhere, and the longer we stare at it, the further it takes us. The morning after those first groanings from under the ice, I awoke to find no fewer than a dozen people – neighbors all – standing in my back yard, at the edge of the river. No one was saying a word. I realized that I actually knew few of these people, but moments later I was out there with them, part of the collective silent watch.

All through the first day, the river cracked and shifted while the sun worked its slender fingers in among the crevices, and pried the ice sheets apart. Sometime in the night, very late, the great event must have taken place – the breakup and swelling of the river, for the next morning the floes were coarsing freely. I watched as they slowly spun and nudged up against one another, migrating like immense seagoing mammals, dipping and surfacing, plowing the frigid water over their backs. Now and then one would crash into a tree along the shore, snapping limbs like matchsticks. The air was filled with the sound of the river. The air smelled of river.

Anyone who chooses to live on the banks of a river knows the risk. My river, the Penobscot of Maine, often looks like a placid mountain lake at the height of summer. Sometimes it is so low that in its midcourse green shoots wag their blades as they are caressed by the barely drifting water.

2But it's all but impossible to recall such images in the chill of an early Maine spring, when the mountain snows are liquefying and pouring into the river. I and my neighbors stand and watch as it rises, wondering how far it will come up this year. Maybe that's why we are all so silent as we watch.

The other night, while preparing supper, I paused to look out my kitchen window at the dark, rolling water. It was high but still below flood stage. I sat down to eat. Fifteen minutes later I was startled by what sounded like the breaking of a thousand wine glasses. I looked out the window and saw that a massive ice flow, consisting of innumerable crystalline shards, had come down the river en masse, only to be halted by the abandoned railroad bridge behind my home. I watched as the ice chinks jostled and shifted, looking to get under or over or somehow through the bridge. And slowly, the backed-up water began to rise.

The neighbors had heard it, too. All those common to the flood plain rushed from their houses and perched as close to the river as they safely could. But even as we watched, the waters were visibly rising, lapping at our shoes. And so we stepped back. And 10 minutes later, we had to step back again. The fire department came, and for some odd reason this put heart into us, although they were helpless to do a thing. The firefighters fell into ranks with us, standing and watching, too. They shook their heads as we did, and they stepped back when the water rose to the soles of their shoes.

MANY of us were told to prepare to evacuate our homes. We listened, but we didn't hear, not until the water had come over the slope of the lawn and shards of shifting ice were ripping the bark from the swamp maples. Then people began to consider. Some moved belongings to upper floors. Electricity was turned off. One friend, with the help of neighbors, hauled his furnace upstairs. By sunset the neighborhood was still, except for the clinking of ice and the moaning of the bridge.

As night fell, I hovered between evacuation and the less-drastic measure of sleeping upstairs, as if my presence in my threatened home could exert some counterforce against the river's tendencies. I didn't move upstairs, but as I lay in bed, sleepless, I dipped my hand to the floor from time to time, to feel whether it had come time to move. And then – it must have been near midnight – the river, or something in it, moaned deep and long and loud. I ran to the window and by the moonlight I saw it, the bridge, being slowly ripped up by its roots and heaved onto the ice floes. Within five minutes it was gone. By morning the Penobscot had begun to recede.

The river had had its way.

Robert Klose

Why Me?

AFTER a friend of mine had suffered a debilitating neck injury in an accident, a group of sympathizers asked him: "Do you ever wonder 'Why me?' "

My friend's reply may have surprised them. "I know why me!" he answered. Then he patiently explained why he expected his deep Christian faith to enable him to walk and move his limbs again. Above his bed, many signs encouraged him—taped to the ceiling by his family. The first to go up had been the Apostle Paul's counsel in his second letter to the Corinthians: "For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."

The last I heard, this man—who really does exude towering faith and deep kindness and love in his everyday affairs—is doing well. He's gaining strength and the use of his arms and legs in the face of predictions that he might completely lose the use of his limbs forever.

Still, when something catastrophic strikes, the "Why me?" question can haunt us. Nobody, however, is ever singled out for accident or tragedy. Indeed, the truth is that accident or tragedy is not any part of God's government of man. God is good, and He is divine Love itself. He neither causes nor permits loss, injury, sickness, death, or any affliction. Once when Christ Jesus' disciples asked him why a certain man had been born blind, he answered "That the works of God should be made manifest in him." Of course, Jesus didn't leave it there. He illustrated "the works of God" by restoring the man's sight through spiritual means.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Even if we seem to experience misfortune from time to time, we never need to accept loss or harm as either inevitable or irreparable. The presence of God and the magnitude of His love for us mean there is a way to restoration. And if we place ourselves wholeheartedly under God's guidance, we'll find the way. Often misfortune is imagined to be a tool of God—perhaps designed to teach us needed lessons. But though God is always teaching us, He does it in loving, intelligent ways, never in harsh or destructive ones. God is infinite Spirit, so He simply is too wise, too powerful, too intelligent, to permit evil to play any part in governing the man that He makes.

This is not to say that we shouldn't learn from setbacks—and most of the time we do. In the many trials of her life, Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, could see God's guiding and guarding hand lifting her above these trials and strengthening her. And in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, she writes of her discovery: "God had been graciously preparing me during many years for the reception of this final revelation of the absolute divine Principle of scientific mental healing."

The Bible assures us that God does not allow even the suggestion of harm or loss to stay with one of His children—our true, spiritual selfhood. The promise is unconditional and universal. But what the Bible really gives is more than just assurance. It explains and illustrates how we can understand for ourselves the nature of God and the resulting nature of man.

Armed with such an understanding, and the God-given love that quickens our growth in this understanding, we can meet with grace whatever circumstance we may confront and gain the victory. Spiritual understanding is the solid framework wherein we can prove through prayer that there is no loss, nor harm under God's government. Then we too will say with confidence, "I know why me! I know that man is chosen to glorify God, not to suffer evil. I have the God-given authority to prove that sickness or misfortune is never His will."

the idea of the legs of the steed. The upper word, meaning heaven, is familiar to most people who have any acquaintance with written Chinese. Simple and striking, as it is in this example, it is a pleasure to contemplate.

Tung was also admired for his work as a copyist. This art form was necessary in the preservation of famous Chinese pictures that were painted on silk and were extremely fragile, so that fire, war, travel, and other hazards put them at great risk. Copying was listed as one of the Six Principles of painting from the earliest times, but artists understood that it was to be copying "with a difference." That is, the artist, working "after" the style of a great master was expected to add his own individual touches – in a sense to create another masterpiece. Tung's skill with the brush and his knowledge of the great pictures of the past made him particularly suited to this branch of the art.

As a rule, he chose traditional subjects, landscapes with lakes and hills, called, for instance, "Eight Views of Autumn Moods." Tung's mountains might be "in the style of" a long-honored painter, or, if left to himself, would be almost abstract in form. Here he was an innovator, and because of these works he is thought of today as one who broke with tradition and opened new paths, an odd appraisal of so conservative a man.

Enid Saunders Candlin

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OPINION/ESSAYS

Minolta CEO proposes Pacific Rim trade group that would strengthen US leadership role and offset current protectionist trends

US Needs Stronger Partners Than NAFTA's

By Sam Kusumoto

THE late Douglas MacArthur would have been intrigued by recently-introduced congressional legislation that calls for American leadership in the creating of Pacific Rim free-trade zones that would include this country and Japan.

General MacArthur was a brave warrior who came to hate war, and a patriotic American who became the effective Emperor of Japan. He was as complex as the political and economic challenges that face us today.

We live in an era when local prosperity depends heavily on global trade, and corporations, while maintaining a national image as "American" or "Japanese," in fact operate on a multinational basis.

We can, for example, expect to see more Japanese companies locating factories in Mexico as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). And many American manufacturers are doing the same.

I know that many American business and political leaders are worried about the possible export of American jobs to Mexico because of this agreement. I share that fear. And I also worry that the development of regional trade blocs, like the European Community and NAFTA, may have a devastating effect on world trade.

An Asian economic community is also beginning to emerge. Like the European Community, it shows protectionist tendencies to countries outside the bloc. And both blocs may exclude America.

Think what it would mean, just for the United States, if these tendencies become fully developed over the next decade.

On the other side of the North Atlantic, the 12 members of the European Community have a combined gross national product (GNP) of roughly $4.8 trillion.

And, across the Pacific, the nations of East Asia today have a GNP of about $2.7 trillion.

By contrast, in a North American free-trade zone the US would be left with two trading partners, Canada and Mexico, that have a combined GNP of only $612 billion. That's roughly 12.5 percent of Europe's GNP. Not much of an export market for America.

I believe that a Pacific Rim Economic Community including Australia, America, and the Asian nations bordering the Pacific would be a counterbalance to the EC.

Under those conditions, the export-driven economy of the United States would crumble. And, because of America's dominant position in the world economy, any serious blow to the American economy would spark a global depression.

Legislation has recently been introduced in Congress that could represent a first step toward achieving something I have long advocated: a Pacific Rim Economic Community that would include Japan and the US.

This bipartisan legislation, H.R. 763, has attracted almost no attention in the news media.

Introduced by Reps. Sam Gibbons (D) of Florida and Philip Crane (R) of Illinois, the bill calls on the president to start preliminary talks on creating free-trade zones among the nations of the Pacific, including Japan and the US.

I believe a Pacific Rim Economic Community that would include Australia and all the American and Asian nations bordering the Pacific, would be a useful counterbalance to the powerful EC in negotiations aimed at keeping world trade patterns free and open.

Many historians agree that the protectionist trade wars of the early 1930s were a factor, not only in spreading the Great Depression, but also in adding economic factors to the causes of World War II.

I admit that free trade won't solve all our problems. And I agree that Japan's markets must be more open to imports. But I worry about protectionist trends in Europe, Asia, and America.

MacArthur, who ruled Japan with absolute authority from 1945 to 1950 during the American postwar occupation, was very much a man of the Pacific. I believe he would have approved the idea of a Pacific Rim Economic Community.

I hope that today's leaders of Japan and America will agree.

■ *Sam Kusumoto is chairman and CEO of Minolta Corporation. This article is adapted from his April 22 speech at the Hotel Thayer on the grounds of the US Military Academy at West Point.*

Balkan Challenge: Find a Formula for Long-Term Peace

America and Russia are seen as initial negotiators, with others joining in when process takes shape

By Clay Ramsay

AS the West comes to admit that ethnic cleansing in Bosnia is not just a nightmare, but a stubborn reality, its leaders are hungry for a genuine political plan. More than any other factor, the lack of a long-term perspective has blocked military action against genocide. The United Nations must begin setting new, long-term goals for its actions in the Balkan region.

The central goal should be a pact, to be signed eventually by all the states of the former Yugoslavia, requiring the UN-guaranteed observance of human rights for all ethnic groups across Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, and the reduced Yugoslavia (Serbia plus Montenegro).

The main lines of this new direction should be worked out first in discussions between the United States and Russia, and then broadened to include the rest of the Security Council.

Why should Russia help – Russia, the supposed patron of the Serbs? Because Russian policy has the most to gain from a plan that, first, guarantees Serb minorities' human rights (notably in Croatia) and, second, dissociates Russia from the paranoid nationalism of the Bosnian Serb leaders.

Along with the US, the Russian Federation is the country with the most to lose from the spread of ethnic militarism. Its policymakers also have sharp personal experience of the utter irrationality of the Bosnian Serb chiefs they have tried to persuade.

Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen accepted ethnic homogeneity as a principle for peacemaking, so the negotiating of their plan has tended to underwrite the ongoing process of ethnic cleansing.

The internal flaws of the Vance-Owen peacemaking process make new UN goals indispensable. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen accepted ethnic homogeneity as a principle for peacemaking, so the negotiating of their plan has tended to underwrite the ongoing process of ethnic cleansing. They attempted to draw new internal boundaries to assure ethnic rule in Bosnia on a canton-by-canton basis.

But the interlacing of ethnic groups in most of the former Yugoslavia is so complex that it is impossible to draw a Serbian state that includes all Serbs – or a Croatian state that includes all Croats – without also including extensive "minority" populations whose human rights must be guaranteed.

As President Clinton recognized in his April 23 press conference, "the principle of ethnic cleansing is something we ought to stand up against. That does not mean that the United States or the United Nations can enter a war in effect to redraw the lines, geographical lines of republics within what was Yugoslavia, or that that would ultimately be successful." Mr. Clinton is right: No solution can be drawn on a map.

Throughout the Balkans, there are only three choices: ethnic cleansing, unstable tyranny by one group, or free multi-ethnic citizenship. "Where there is no vision, the people perish" has never been more literally true than it is now in the Balkans. It is time for Europe and the US to admit that the policy of accepting ethnic homogeneity as a criterion for statehood in the Balkans has been a catastrophe – not least for the many Bosnians who refused a Muslim, Serb, or Croat identity and called themselves "Yugoslavs" in the 1991 national census.

IS a new and different US-Russian approach an ambitious idea? Of course. But when the world is confronted with a formidable problem that is worsening rapidly, looking more than a month ahead is only common sense.

Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, is right: Military action has little value unless it provides leverage for a genuine political plan. When Western leaders fully face the reality of genocide, they will have to forge such a plan. If the plan is worthy of the values of the UN Charter, then it will be possible for Russia to support it from the outset. With new political objectives, military intervention will have both an inner logic and a far greater chance of success.

■ *Clay Ramsay has taught modern European history at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. He is the author of "The Ideology of the Great Fear" (Johns Hopkins, 1992).*

Bringing the US-Japan Relationship Into Sync

By David I. Hitchcock

THE recent Clinton-Miyazawa summit in Washington should have inspired a cartoon showing the two leaders peering through the same telescope – but from opposite ends. The United States is intently focused on the foreground and wants Japan's action now on specific trade and investment openings; Japan, at the other end, views the horizon and sees the possibility of new, long-range cooperation in global problem-solving with the US.

These opposite approaches to our "most important bilateral relationship – bar none" (former US Ambassador to Japan Mike Mansfield's old maxim) are illustrated by two recent reports that went almost unnoticed in the American media.

The first, released in December by a distinguished group of Japanese businessmen and scholars led by former Ambassador to Washington Yoshio Okawara, dwelt mostly on macroeconomic issues between the two countries. It also contained recommendations for global cooperation between them. The report proposes the establishment of three bilateral councils and forums to plan for a vastly expanded partnership for the 21st century.

A very different report was released almost simultaneously by the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan. It spells out precisely what actions Japan should take now to open its markets further to US exports and investment. While giving greater credit to Japan than does President Clinton, this white paper concludes that "years of protection ... coupled with export-driven strategies, have shaped a business environment inherently unfavorable to foreign firms ... aggressive actions ... are needed to effect necessary changes in business policies and practices to make them more transparent and consistent with those of other industrialized countries."

The report points to "exclusionary business relationships" hindering American automotive, flat glass, insurance, and semiconductor industries; incompatibility of certain Japanese standards, regulations, and testing practices with internationally recognized ones; the limited government market share the US has gained for computers, supercomputers, and software, despite agreements to boost opportunities; continuing "buy Japanese" attitudes and opaque decisionmaking processes that constrain US construction firms and caused US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor recently to warn of new sanctions.

The Okawara Report urges much greater US-Japan policy cooperation on the environment, democratization and disarmament, and on such issues as AIDS, refugees, population, education, and the promotion of basic technologies. New high-level talks are recommended to discuss "trade, industrial structure and interindustry cooperation, macropolicy and finance, agriculture, competition policy, investment and the international trade system."

In one glance at an issue the Tokyo American Chamber also mentions, the report urges strict enforcement of Japan's fair trade and anti-monopoly laws.

The Clinton-Miyazawa talks lasted three and a half hours with no interpreting (and were preceded by probably the lengthiest pre-conference internal briefing on Japan any president has ever received). And while more than half of the talks actually dealt with nontrade issues, the media in both countries saw the meeting as essentially a tough disagreement over the widening trade gap. US briefers did nothing to correct that impression.

The US has every reason to be exasperated with Japan's trade barriers. We should expect the Japanese to take seriously the analyses and recommendations they have received from those who should know the situation best – the American businessmen in Japan (who, by the way, urge the Clinton administration and Congress to eschew protectionist measures). These executives are strongly supported by Japan's major newspapers, which in commenting on the Miyazawa visit, urged Japan to "open its markets further," "remove remaining trade barriers," and "make its market more transparent." (Tokyo's press was unanimous, however, in supporting Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa's and the US Tokyo Chamber's opposition to the US call for market-share targets.)

But at the same time, the US would be making a serious mistake to zero in too exclusively on trade complaints, passing up the tremendous benefit we could obtain from the long-term, global cooperation proposed by Ambassador Okawara and Mr. Miyazawa. The "name of the game" is not only economics, as some in the White House suggest. Our "cold-war partnership" with Japan may be "outdated" as Mr. Clinton declares; but there will be little partnership left at all if we dispense with all the "soft stuff" and squeeze the entire relationship down to the $5 billion to $10 billion shrinkage of the trade gap that experts estimate would occur if all of Japan's trade barriers disappeared tomorrow.

OUR Asian friends remain concerned over security in the region. Many of them believe China could be the next major threat. Or Japan could be, if the US fails to find a way to share responsibility for "international peace and security in the Far East," to quote from the far-from-outdated 1960 US-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. The world, especially nations in Asia, does not want to see the US and Japan, which together account for 40 percent of the global gross national product, become embroiled in an increasingly bitter trade war.

The Clinton-Miyazawa meeting suggests a relationship seriously out of sync, with more trouble ahead if the US pursues only more trade concessions and the Japanese respond by suggesting more committees to study the 21st century.

In its interagency Japan study currently under way, the Clinton administration must regain a vision of the global forest, while still urging more focus on removal of individual trees – the remaining trade obstacles. The Japanese are correct to propose bold plans for a new partnership with the US. But can these plans and the US cooperation they would need receive the attention they deserve in Washington without much more positive responses from Japan on trade and investment issues? These should not be conditional on each other; we should attack the micro and macro, the bilateral and global, simultaneously. But the hard, political fact is that the administration may not be able to get all fired up about a new, global partnership with Japan while it is still gnashing teeth over the $50 billion trade deficit and barriers that even the Japanese press believes should have fallen years ago.

There are lessons here for both countries: If the US wants more and faster trade concessions from Japan, it must help the Japanese "feel" – a crucially important word in Japanese – that they are gaining something precious in return, namely, the prospect of a new and comprehensive global partnership with the US, one bringing to their rocky, narrow shores a new form of 21st-century security.

But if such a thoroughly up-to-date US-Japan combination is to develop, Japan must propose more concrete microeconomic measures on trade and investment than Miyazawa offered in Washington.

For the July meeting of the seven leading industrial nations in Tokyo, both leaders should avoid telescopes and try to share the same vision of our future together, both the immediate and long-term. Action on issues currently before us and on larger global troubles ahead will be essential for the prosperity and security of both countries, indeed of the world.

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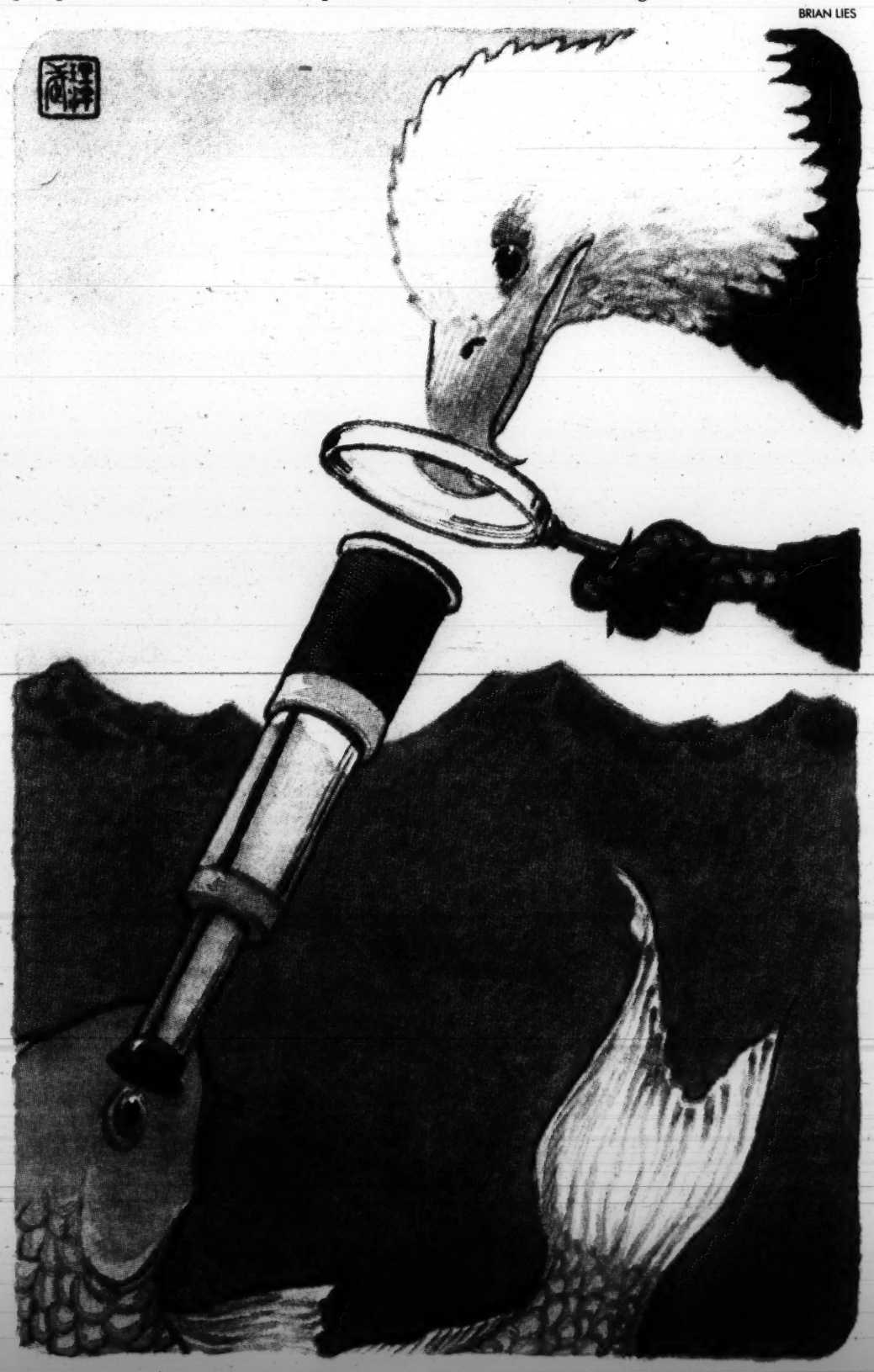
BRIAN LIES



"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Republicans Regroup

THE party of ideas.

That is a label Republicans are trying to recapture as they work to recover from last year's presidential defeat.

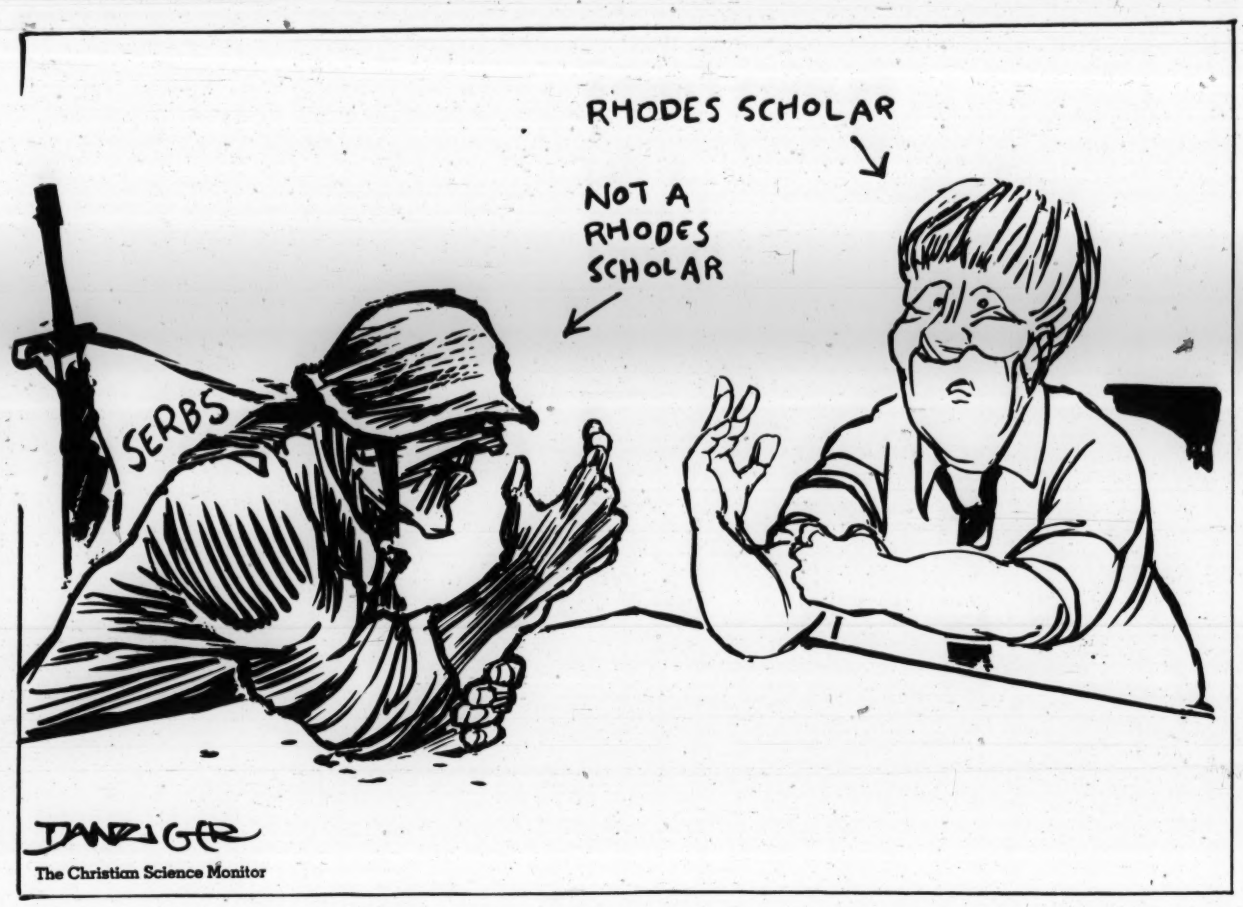
This is a welcome goal. To date, since President Clinton's inaugural, Republicans in Congress have been more successful in identifying what they are against: Mr. Clinton's $16.3 billion stimulus package, for example, which a GOP filibuster helped defeat, as well as his economic package of tax increases and spending cuts designed to reduce the deficit to less than $200 billion by 1997. Indeed, the defeat of the stimulus package has become something of a Republican rallying point: This was one of the messages of the Monitor series, concluding in today's edition, on the efforts of "outsiders" to regroup. Yet it should be remembered that the success of that filibuster was due less to the merits or demerits of the package than to parliamentary arrogance on the part of Senate Democrats, which cost them the support of enough moderate Republicans to prevent ending the filibuster.

Ironically, Republicans face the same general problem with focus that is troubling the Clinton team, although for a different reason. Where Clinton's "focus thing" stems from trying to do too much at one time, the GOP's lack of focus stems from longstanding splits within the party over what direction it should take on social issues, economic issues, and foreign policy, as well as splits over whether social or economic issues should dominate as defining the GOP.

On social issues, for example, conservative William Bennett contends that social issues are the key to recapturing the votes of working-class ethnic Democrats who so strongly supported Ronald Reagan. Yet given the troubled state of the economy in 1980, with double-digit inflation, double-digit interest rates, and high unemployment, the GOP's economic stands played as strong a role as its social stands, if not a stronger one.

If anything, the social-issue notion worked in reverse last year, when a week of hearing conservative harangues on social issues during the GOP convention pushed many voters already leaning away from the Bush effort because of the economy into the Perot and Clinton camps.

The economy remains the foremost issue of the day: Witness the pressure Ross Perot and the Concord Coalition are trying to put on efforts to cut the deficit. As the battle is joined over Clinton's economic package, Republicans are going to have an opportunity not just to oppose, but to propose. If they are to lay the groundwork for a competitive run in 1996, even if Clinton fails to adjust his focus sufficiently, Republicans will need more than social ideology to draw votes.



Tarnishing the Honor Roll

FEW parents remain ignorant of the rising costs of college education – approaching $25,000 a year at prestigious schools, and still climbing.

Now parents are discovering that those A's and B's their children are bringing home on their report cards may be subject to another form of inflation: "grade inflation."

A check at Harvard University reveals that 25 years ago only a little more than a third of the undergraduates received B+ or higher. Today two out of three "earn" those honor grades.

At the punitive end of the scale the spread is even wider. Almost one in five undergraduates found C's (and lower) on their report cards a quarter of a century ago. Now the dunce element is less than 1 in 16.

What applies to Harvard applies to other prestigious schools – Princeton, Brown, Stanford – and to those not so prestigious. In just the last four years, the proportion of A's at Princeton has escalated from 33 percent to 40 percent of all grades.

What happens when, as in Lake Wobegon, all students are above average?

If the old meaningful distinctions based on talent and hard work are allowed to erode, grades become the latest case of false labeling; were these grade-A's applied to meat instead of students, the FDA would be investigating.

It is especially ironic that the rigorously rational standards on which academics pride themselves should turn into hyperbole, since the reputation of the A-giver suffers damage equal to the reputation of the A-receiver if an A possesses no more credibility than still another "Fabulous!" blurb from a film reviewer who never saw a movie he didn't like.

It should not be assumed that a little slipping and sliding in standards affects only those living behind ivy walls. There can be cruel consequences for the deception and self-deception when students become graduates.

Two of the favorite words of the '90s are "excellence" and "competitive." If the young now in school wish to be competitive in the real world, they're going to need all the very real excellence they can acquire.

LETTERS

Where the Press Has Failed the Public

Regarding the Opinion page column "Of Newspapers and Their Imperatives," April 7: It is the rare exception rather than the rule that our metropolitan newspapers strive, in a timely fashion, to fully inform the public about significant happenings that profoundly affect our lives.

More often than not we learn long after the crucial event what the truth was all about: the complicity of oil industry moguls, the CIA, and the sustained support of a brutal regime in El Salvador to the tune of $6 billion dollars over many years. The leading papers of the United States press have repeated a litany of lies and misinformation put forth by government spokespeople about the virtues of the rotten regimes in El Salvador.

On the domestic front, the effective coverup of the impending Savings & Loan scandal was profound disservice to the public. As a whistle blower in the public interest, the press rates an F.

The columnists and host of editors should remove their rose-colored glasses in evaluating the social performance of the US press. The concentration of ownership and the dependence on advertising volume for profits have transformed the press into big business with most of the undesirable qualities of big business – arrogant control of substantive content, coddling of its peers in finance and manufacturing while acting as sycophants to government press agents who regard public deception as standard procedure.

The critical reader who tries to be well informed on the controversial issues of the times must look elsewhere than metropolitan newspapers for understanding. The failure of the press is a prelude to the failure of American democracy.

H. Dale Turner ***Puyallup, Wash.***

The feud between two factions

Regarding the Opinion page article "Key Results From Forest Conference," April 16: President Clinton has shown a sincere interest in the April 2 Forest Conference. The president has inherited an enigma from past administrations. However, environmental pressures were never as great as they are today.

The problem to defuse can be described as a feud between two factions of environmental management. The forest industries are wrongly labeled the bad guys who only think in terms of dollar signs and self-preservation. To the left are the environmentalists, who are self-proclaimed guardians of and experts on our world's ecosystems. The Clinton administration must politically navigate through these two powerful groups.

The forest industry is trying to deal with facts and shake the stereotypes of the past, while environmentalists deal with emotion and inflated numbers and have succeeded in bombarding the blind masses in America with propaganda.

The dedication of the Clinton administration is there, but a serious question arises: Will the new administration find a realistic solution to the logjam by dealing with the facts and individual rights? The major abuses to the forests out west that the environmental activists cite can be attributed to the United States Forest Service and not to the large timber companies.

The only significant result from the Forest Conference was the commitment by Clinton to work with existing environmental laws and to protect the rights of Americans by enforcing the laws in court. The president should now take a closer look at our Constitution and the true status of our nation's forests.

Steven P. Meyers ***Auburn, Ala.***

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.